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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JAHANGIR ON THE BASIS OF 'TUZUK-I-JAHANGIRI'

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This is to certify that the subject matter of this thesis is a record of the work done by the candidate himself under my guidance and that the contents of this thesis did not form a basis on the award of any previous degree to him or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else and that in habit and character the candidate is a fit and proper person for the degree of Ph.D.

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P R E F A C E

'Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri' is the best authority to know the history of Jahangir. Like his great grand father Babar, Jahangir wrote his own biography without hiding any actual fact, which may give unfavourable to his personality, is proved by the very fact that he had not hesitated to say in his memoirs that the murder of Abul Fazl was done by his order. The another fact that he writes about the habit of his drinking, and excess drinking while he was prince. After critical examination of the fact I have reached to the point that what Jahangir has written in his memoirs are actual fact.

The aim of the present thesis is to prepare a fresh history of Jahangir and his times with the data founded in the memoirs of Jahangir and the work was taken under belief that the investigation and the proper use of the data found in this work, will help to prepare a history of Jahangir, with a largely different picture of his personality and character and also of the life and times. My conclusion about the revolt of Prince Salim against his father and the circumstances about Prince Khusrau's death may strike the reader as a novel, but I may be permitted to state that it is based on the critical examination of all the available sources. Like a true follower of Islam, Jahangir married only four wives, as mentioned in his memoirs, has been analysed. The supermacy of Nur Jahan Begum in the harem, was only due to her brilliancy, which was liked by the

Emperor. Her role in the administration of Jahangir has been analysed after a critical study of the contemporary sources. Jahangir's character, and activities, as a ruler, have been discussed in this work after checking the original authorities. His love for animals, birds, nature, literature, art and unfailing efforts for the welfare of his officers and subjects have been discussed.

In preparing this work, the name of institutions and libraries that I visited during my research may be mentioned in this context. I must gratifully acknowledge the generous loan, or permission to get copies, of books or manuscripts in the possession of the authorities of the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, Patna. The National Library, Calcutta; Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Besides this, I have used the books of Central Library, Banaras Hindu University for a long period of time. So I express grateness to the members of the staff of all these institutions.

I also express my indebtedence to persons who helped me in various ways in completing this research work. Among them, the name of my father Shri R.S. Chaubey must be mentioned, who has become my source of inspiration in all my academic persuits including the present one. I also express my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Rajeshwar Pandey, who has all along helped me in this present work and whose unfailing aid helped me in

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1

I N T R O D U C T I O N

All the historians writing the history of Mughal period in general and the history of Jahangir in particular, have drawn materials from the text 'Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri' or the memoirs of Jahangir and pointed out the importance of this work as a source of materials for the history of Jahangir. But no writer, however, has written any historical accounts of Jahangir's life and times on the basis of his memoirs, written by himself or under his direction till the beginning of nineteenth year of his reign. The work has been undertaken with the belief that the investigation and the proper use of the data found in this text, which will help us to prepare a history of Jahangir largely different picture of his personality than he is referred by the later historians.

The text 'Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri' is autobiography of the Emperor, Jahangir. It is variously called 'Tarikh-i-Salim Shahi; Karnama-i-Jahangiri, Wakial-i-Jahangiri's. Dayaz-i-Jahangiri; Jahangirnama and Mafālat-i-Jahangiri. There is also another version, to be noticed presently was translated by Major David Price of the Bombay army, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in 1829. "Though on the authenticity of either version. There raged a long controversy in which H. Elliot, Prof. Dowson, De Sacy, Dr. Ricce Morle, and others took part. It is now settled beyond all

possibility of doubt that Major Pricis manuscript represents a forgery and that the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, as published by Sayyid Ahmad Khan forms the real memoirs."[1] The work Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri was published by Sayyid Ahmad Khan, from Ghazipur and Aligarh in 1863-64. It has been translated into English by Alexander Rogers, the rendering being revised, edited and annoated by Henry Beveridge.

The memoirs of the first twelve years, when finished, were bound in handsome copies and the very first copy was given to Shah Jahan. The officers also received the copies of the work as present from the Emperor. After completing sixteen years, in the beginning of seventeenth year of his reign, Jahangir, being suffering of illness and weakness, entrusted this task of writing the memoirs to Mufamad Khan, Bakhshi, "whatever events may occur hereafter he should note after the manner of a diary, and submit them for my verification, and then they should be copied into a book."[2] Mutamad Khan brought them down to the beginning of the nineteenth year of his reign. The translation of the first twelve years account was published by the Royal Asiatic Society of London in 1909 and the remainder in 1914. Main portions are also translated in 'Elliot and Dowson' VI, pp. 276-391, under the title Wafiat-i-Jahangiri or 'Dwazda Sala Jahangiri'.

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1. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 418.
2. Tuzuk (R and B), II, p. 246.

Dr. Beni Prasad in his authoritative work on Jahangir points out the importance of this work in following words - "Jahangir's diary forms the prime authority for the study of his reign and his personality."[1] He further writes that Jahangir's life is revealed with candour and frankness. Only a new incidents, such as his revolt against his father and the circumstances of Prince Khusrau's death, being glossed over,[2] if in our opinion just partly acceptable. The facts that Jahangir has narrated seem the actual facts without hiding anything which may give unfavourable colours to his personality is proved by the very fact that he has not hesitated to say in his memoirs that the murder of Abul Fazl was done by his order.[3] We have analysed minutely the circumstances of his revolt against his father, while he has a prince can be justified. Khusrau's death also has been given in an analysis on the basis of the fact found in the text and it is possibly proved that it is wrong to hold that the actual facts connected with the sad story are not revealed by Jahangir.

Ibn Hasan's opinion about the immense value of this work is also worthnoting. "It is only a fortunate accident that Jahangir took up the work of writing his memoirs, and left behind him a record of the greater part of his rule from his

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1. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 418.
2. Ibid, p. 419.
3. Tuzuk (R and B) I, pp. 24-25.

own pen. It forms the chief authority for his reign and personality.... The incidents of king's life, his daily routine and all matters connected with his reign and personality except a few incidents are frankly and faithfully recorded. The faithfulness of his statements, is fully impressed upon the reader who follows them step by step.[1] In this work we find full accounts of riots and rebellions, war and conquests, the Imperial regulations introduced by the Emperor, all important appointments and dismissals and the sketches of the principal nobles and officers, the Emperor's habits - hunting, drinking, love of music, intern love of nature, his love for sports, his dresses, interest in education and care for scholars which are mentioned in this work. The Emperor's care for his subjects, especially for the poor and dervishes, and the social and natural condition of the various places are also mentioned in this work. The copies of the printed text 'Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri' by Sayyid Ahmad Khan are available in Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, Patna and Aligarh University Library. We have consulted the printed text of Khuda Bakhsh Library."

The Points Discussed in this work

In this work the main points which considered as giving new interpretation of facts, throwing light on obscure and unknown elements of Jahangir elements of Jahangir's history

1. Ibn Hasan, 'The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire', p. 10.

and solving problems which uptil now remained unsolved are the following -

The date of his birth, as 17th and 18th Rabi-u-l-awwal is justified. The problem about identity of Jahangir's mother has been raised and discussed. Dr. Beni Prasad has not given any final opinion regarding this lady. In the main body of his work, he writes that she was the Rajput princess, daughter of Raja Bihari Mal.[1] But in the footnote he points out that nowhere in the contemporary sources it has been clearly mentioned who she was.[2] Jahangir in his memoirs does not tell us any thing about the identity of his mother.

In his memoirs Jahangir says that it was predicted by Shaikh Salim at the time of his death, that Prince Salim was destined to be Akbar's successor. If we are ready to believe Jahangir's veracity, we have no reason to blame prince Salim for raising the banner of revolt against his father.

Reforms introduced by Jahangir soon after his accession as noted in his memoirs, such as prohibition of the practice of turning poor young boys into eunuchs in Bengal, his care for children as he celebrated a picnic with learned and young boys in Kabul, fastening of 'chain of Justice' have been discussed. His foreign policies and Internal policies have been fully analysed after critical study of the data found in his memoirs.

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1. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 5.
2. Ibid, n. 9.

Although he followed the Islam, but he had love and care for his all subjects. He celebrated or took part in festivals of all his subjects.

His relations with his family and the roles of his family members in his administration have been discussed. It is worthnoting point in this work that according to Quranic Law, Jahangir has mentioned only four ladies, whom he married. We have discussed this point in our work. The role of Nur Jahan in his life and administration has been discussed after a critical examination of the fact found in our text. Historians are generally under the impression that Jahangir's administration was carried on by Nur Jahan Begam. Jahangir married her in 1611 A.D., before and after this marriage we find both in this text and in contemporary sources that in matters of war and peace, and in other important matters of the government, Jahangir was taking his own decision. We do not find Nur Jahan Begam, anywhere superior than Jahangir in any important matters internal or external. Everywhere she continued loyal to Jahangir.

His personal habits such as his dress, food, drinking habit, hunting, belief in astrology, his love for nature, interest in painting etc. have been fully described in this work. The society of his times, which have been mentioned by him in his memoirs, have been discussed. We have firmly believe that we have create a new history of Jahangir on the basis of his biography by this romantic Mughal Emperor than that of historians, who

have written the history of Jahangir. We are not fully agree with Ibn Hasan that "Jahangir at every stage of his rule, and on every important occasion, emphasized his desire to rule on the lines chalked by his father Akbar, and he expresses a sort of pride in his father's achievements and his own anxiety to follow him."[1] Though Jahangir ruled on the line chalked by Akbar, but he introduced so many new regulations. The striking of new coins, fastening of chain of justice, promulgation of Ain-i-Jahangiri, clear that Jahangir ruled according to his own desire. We are also surprised on the opinion of Henry Beveridge about the work "History of Jahangir written by Beni Prasad," that "We can say that the world has now learnt all that it need now about him (Jahangir).[2]

For coroboration of the facts found in our text, we have based our studies mainly on other contemporary persian sources, and where sufficient evidence was not available, on later records as well. We have also studied the accounts of the European travellers which exists in English or have been translated into English. These works fell into the following divisions:

a) Earlier works
b) Contemporary chronicles,
c) Later Records; and
d) Accounts of European Travellers.

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1. Ibn Hasan, The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, p.10.
2. Mr. H. Beveridge, Jl. of Royal Asiatic Society, p. 1923.

A- Earlier Works

Akbarnamah

It was written by Abul Fazl Allami (Faizi) one of the loyal courtiers of Akbar. It was published in three volumes by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Mr. Henery Beveridge translated this work into English. Fascicute of the English translation are being published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, in the Bibliothica Indico series since 1897. The last fascicule of this work was issued in 1921 A.D. A number of passages selected from all the three volumes are translated in Elliot and Downson's book, entitled 'History of India as told by its own historians, Vol. VI, pp. 1-102. "An abridged manuscript translation by Leiutinant Chalmers of the Madras Army, is in the Royal Asiatic Society, London. It has been used by Elliot and Downson, Eliphiston, count Von Noer, and others."[1] Abul Fazl's own narrative comes down to 1602 A.D., in the year of his death.

This work is valuable for us for the birth, education, and early life of prince Salim and his brothers. The dates are specially valuable. Some accounts of his sons and wives are also found in this work.

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1. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 415.

Takmil Akbarnama

It is the continuation of the Abul Fazl's work composed by Shaikh Inayatulla, containing the four remaining years of Akbar's reign. It was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta and partly translated into English by Lieutinant Chalmers along with the principal work. The important passages are translated in 'Elliot and Downson's' History, Vol. VI, pp. 103-15; and some others are transcribed in Von Noer's Akbar'. This work contains the activities of prince Salim before his accession along with the murder of Abul Fazl, the Afghan rising in Bengal, the Deccan War, the illness and death of prince Damial and Murad with excess drinking, death of Jahangir's first wife, Shah Begam, sister of Raja Mansingh; about Bir Singh Deo, and the illness and death of Akbar. This work seems valuable for the coroboration of the facts, found in the Memoirs of Jahangir.

Tabqat-i-Akbari (Shahi)

This work was composed by Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad, Bakhshi under Akbar, and is popular by the name 'Tabqal-i-Akbari'. It comes down to the year 1593-4. It was published by the Nami Press Lucknow, 1875. Nearly whole of the accounts of Akbar's reign are translated in Elliot and Downson's V, pp.247-476. It gives a few details about the birth and early life of Prince Salim. It gives also some details about the Prince, which are

not found in Abul Fazl. Its dates have been received with caution, but the work, as a whole, ranks among the most reliable sources of our information. The work has been also edited and published in the Bibliothica Indica Series.

Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh

This work was completed by Abdul Qadir Badauni, better known as Badauni. It was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. It has been translated into English, Part I, by Lieutenant Colonel Ranking, part II by W.H. Lowerence, and revised by E.B. Cowell; and part III by Lieut. Colonel, Woolsley Haig still uncomplete. All published in fasciculi by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Some important portions of the work are also translated in Elliot and Downson's Vol. V, pp. 482-519, and in Blochman's version of Ain-i-Akbari, pp.168-199. The political narrative is mainly based on Nizamuddin Ahmad, but some additional facts are given. Badauni alone mentions the incidents of Akbar's illness in 1591, his suspicion of foul play on the part of Salim and the latter's rigilant watch on the movements of Prince Murad. The third part gives the lives of saints and learned men which is valuable for the history both of Akbar and of Jahangir.

Tarikh

This work was composed by Mohammad Qasim, Hindu shah, better known as 'Firishta' about 1612 A.D. It is one of the

best known persian histories of India. It has been translated into English by John Briggs under the title 'History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India' in 1829. It was reprinted by 'Cambray and Co., Calcutta, 1908. The work comes down to the close of Akbar's reign. About the personal history of Jahangir, it confirms the information supplied by other writers. It has immense value chiefly for the Deccan wars in Akbar's reign.

Wiqay or Halat-i-Asad Beg

The Wiqaya was composed by Asad Beg, a famous servant of Abul Fazl. It is a standard authority on the murder of Abul Fazl. It also gives clear account of the conspiracy to set aside Salim in favour of Khusru, of Akbar's death and of Jahangir's accession. "The whole of this work was translated by Mr. B.W. Chapman, of the Bengal Civil Service." Several Exacts have been translated in 'Elliot and Downson' VI, pp. 150-174.

Anfaul Akbar

Muhammad Amir composed this most useful chronicle, 'Anfaul Akbar.' It gives account of the dealing of Akbar with Prince Salim during the last years as his reign. Some passages are translated in 'Elliot and Downson' Vol. VI, pp. 244-50.

Ain-i-Akbari

Abul Fazl composed this valuable work. It was Edited by Blochman and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in

Bibliothica Indica Series. An imperfect translation into English was made by Francis Galdwin, which published in London in 1800 A.D. The standard translation is that by H. Blochman, Vol. I, published in 1873, and by H.S. Jarrett, Vols. II and III, published in 1891 and 1899, respectively by Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. The work is of immense value for the administrative, social cultural and economic point of view. We have used for the coroboration of the facts found in Jahangir's biography.

B- Contempory chronicles

Massir-i-Jahangir

This work was composed by Kamgar Khan. Some portions of this work has been translated into English in Elliot and Downson, Vol. VI, pp. 439-45. It gives the clear account about the conspiracy against Prince Salim to enthrone Khusru. He came to the court in 14th year of Jahangir's reign. The rest of the book is based on mainly based in Tuzuk and Iqbalnama. The manuscript may be seen in Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Library, Bankipore, Patna.

The Tarikh-i-Salim Shahi

The Tarikh-i-Salim Sahi was translated by Major David Prince, of the Bombay army, for the Oriental Translation Committee, under the title of "Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangir, written by himself, and translated from a persian manuscript."

A reprint of this work was published by the Bangasi Press, Calcutta in 1906. The name of the author is unknown. On several points it is fuller than the work of Sayyid Ahmad Khan. But the work as a whole ds of great use. Unfortunately it is used by Gliphiston and other writers. Manuscript copies of the work may be consulted in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, and elsewhere. Some portions are also translated in 'Elliot and Downson' VI, pp. 250-75.

Iqbalnama

This work was composed by Motamad Khan who was pay master and Bakhshi respectively, Under Jahangir, who served, Shah Jahan also. This work was in three parts; the first deals with the history of the Timurid dynasty till the death of Humayun; the second with the reign of Akbar and the third with the entire reign of Jahangir and accession of Shahjahan. The first two parts are not common, but the third, found commonly known as 'Iqbalnama-i-Jahangir is common.[1] It was edited by Maulawis Abd Al Hai and Ahmad Ali under superintendence of Major W.N. Lees and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, in Bibliothica Indica Series, in 1865. The portions dealing with the punishment of Khusru's followers, the Nur Jahan's marriage and activities, the plague, the comet of 1618, and the events of last four years are translated in Elliot and Downson's. History, VI, pp. 393-438. For the first eighteen years of

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1. (E.and D.), VI, p. 400.

Jahangir's reign, his account is very often the same as in Tuzuk-i-Jahangir, therefore, it is often confused with the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.

The Intikhab-i-Jahangiri

This work has been composed by an unknown author. From the contents it is plain that he was a servant of Jahangir. Some portions are translated in 'Elliot and Downson's History VI, 447-52. We find in this work about the Jahangir's charities and mode of life, Khusru's punishment, etc.

Makhzan-i-Afghani

The work is also known as 'Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan Lodi was composed by Nimat Ullah, and materials were collected by Haibat Khan of Samana at the instance of the famous Afghan Captain, Khan Jahan about the year 1612. This work has been translated into English by 'Bernhard Dorn' under the title 'History of the Afghans' and published by the Oriental Translations of Delhi and of Sher Shah, are translated in 'Elliot and Downson' V, pp. 71-115. Towards the end of part I, the rising of Afghans in Bengal during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir are mentioned. This part has been used for coroboration in this thesis.

The Shah Fath Kangra

This work, 'Shah Fath Kangra' of the six conquests of Kangra was composed by Muhammad Jalal Tibatia, a clerk under the Emperor Shah Jahan. The main point of the work has been trans-

lated into 'Elliot and Downson's History, Vol. VI, pp. 518-31. The author relates the story of the conquest of Kangra in 1620 in six different styles and pointed out the achievements of Prince Parvez.

Padshahnama

This work has composed by Abdul Hamid Lahori, one of the courtier of Shah Jahan. It was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta in Bibliothica Indica Series in two volumes. It deals the principle history of Shah Jahan and throws light on his rebellion in the last years of Jahangir's reign. Some main portions are translated in Elliot and Downson's History, Vol. VII, pp. 5-72.

Amal-i-Salih

Amil-i-Salih by Muhammad Salih Kambu, was published by Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, in the Bibliothica Indica Series. This also deals the history of Shah Jahan from his birth to his death. For the events of Jahangir's reign, the author has drawn principally from Lahori. Some passage are translated in Elliot and Downson's History, Vol. VII, pp.124-32.

II. Later Persian Chronicles

Khulasal-ul-Tawarikh

This work was composed by Sujan Rai in 1695-6. It is general history of India up to the accession of Aurangzeb. It was edited by Muhammad Zafar Hasan, B.A., at Delhi. We consulted

the manuscript of this work in Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, Patna. One passage of this is translated in Elliot and Downson's History, VIII, 10-12. The topographical description of the Mughal Empire, in many respects the most important passages of the whole work is translated in 'India of Aurangzeb' by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. The author has often borrowed, almost verbatim from Jahangir and Motamad Khan, but occasionally gives some fresh accounts. This work deals with identity of Jahangir's mother, and Shah Jahan Revolt, which proved valuable for my work.

The Mirat-i-Alam

The Mirat-i-Allam was composed by Muhammad Baka, but commonly ascribed to his patron, Bakhtawar Khan, in the middle of Aurangzeb's reign, is a universal history with special reference to India. The manuscript devotes, nearly twenty five pages to the reign of Jahangir. Some portions translated in Elliot and Downson's History, VIII, deals with Aurangzeb's charity, his manners and habits, the provinces and their revenue and does not add much to our information.

Muntakhab-ul-lubab

Muhammad Hashim Khaf Khan composed this work in the fourth decade of eighteenth century. Manuscript of this work is common. The whole of this work has been edited by Maulavi Kabir-al-Din Ahmad, and published by the Asiatic Society of

Bengal, Calcutta in Bibliotheca Indica Series 1869. It deals the brief accounts of Timur and prety full history of the succeeding emperors. The accounts of Jahangir's reign, which covers pp. 244-394, of the printed text, is mainly based on Jahangir, Motamad Khan, and Kamgar. Khafi Khan has utilised all the sources of information available to him. The portions dealing with the reign of Aurangzeb and his successors are translated in Elliot and Downson's History, Vol. VII, pp.211-533. Elliphiston and Grant Duff inform us about a manuscript translation by Major A. Gordon of Madras Army, dealing the history upto the end of Jahangir's reign. But this book is not available.

Tatimma Jahangiri

Muhammad Hadi, in first half of the eighteenth century, after transcribing the memoirs of Jahangir of eighteen years, composed a continuation of this work called 'Tatimma Jahangiri' dealing the history till the emperor's death. It seems almost entirely based on Motamad Khan. This work is commonly appended to the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri. A few passages are translated in Elliot and Downson's History, Vol. VI, pp. 393-9.

Tarikh-i-Alamara-i-Abbassi

It is valuable history of Persia. Its M.S.S. copy are very common in Indian Libraries. It throws light on Indo-Persian relations from Persian stand point of view. We find relations between Shah Abas of Persia and Jahangir.

The Masir-ul-Umara

The Masir-ul-Umara is a biographical dictionary of the Mughal Amirs in alphabatical order from the first Mughal Emperor Babar to the eighth decade of eighteenth century, compiled from the contemporary persian historians, was composed by Samsamuddaulah Shah Niwaz Khan and his son Abdul Haq. It has been published by Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta in three parts, each containing two volumes. This work has been translated into English, By Henary Beveridge. Because it contains only the history of Amirs. It helped a little us, only for the identity of the Amirs.

Miffahul-Tawarikh

This work was graphed by William Beale at Agra in 1849. It deals the dates all important events in Muslim history of Asia in chronograms, together with short accounts of the supreme authorities and poets. In determination of chronology it is found valuable, the events and personage of Jahangir's reign are delt with on pp. 308-43.

So many other later persian chronicles, being common deal the reign of Jahangir, but seemed practically useless for my work.

Contemporary, Jesuit Accounts

Father Monserrate

Father Anthony Monserrate was a member of the 'First

Jesuit Mission' from Goa to the Court of Akbar. He lived with Akbar from 1580-1582. His work 'monglicae Legationis commentarius' was found in the college of Fort William Calcutta. It was transferred from the College to Matcalfe Hall collection in 1836. One more it was transferred to the Library of St. Pauls, the Anglican Cathedrel of Calcutta. Here, in heaps of books, it was discovered by Rew W.K. Firminger in 1908. Later Father Hosten published some exacts of the work in Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, Volume III, No. 9, pp. 508-704 in 1914.

An English translation of the work by J.S. Hoyland and notes by S.N. Banerjee has been published by the Oxford University Press. The work keeps immense value for the history of Akbar, and gives some information about the childhood of Prince Salim and his brothers. It also throws light on Akbar's administrative system which continued in Jahangir's reign with slide variation.

Father Pierre Du Jarric

Father Du Jarric, of Toulouse's 'Histories discloses plus memorable.... 'establissement progrez dela foi chrestiennne et. catholique, et principalement de ce queles Religieux de la compagnie de Jesus Y out faict et endure pour la mesme fin etc." was first published in French at Arras in 1611. The third part published in 1614 dealing with the last five years of

Akbar's reign and the first of that of Jahangir.

A Latin version of the work called "Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum," etc. was published within two years of the publication of the original. Third volume of the work containing chapters XVI-XXIII, pp. 137-201, deals with the history of Jahangir. The copy of this work can be found in University Library.

E.D. Maclagan

The article entitled "Jessuit Mission to the Emperor Akbar" by E.D. Maclagan, Jl. of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I, Vol. LXV, 1896, pp. 38-133, gives a peculiar summary of the 'Jesuit Accounts' except Monserrate till 1605. It throws light on religious beliefs of Prince Salim and his dealing with the Christians.

Hosten

Hosten has translated the Jesuit accounts of Prince Khusrau's rebellion in the Jl. of Punjab Historical Society.

D- European Travellers

The European accounts keep of its immense value for the description of cities, court-scenes, its grandour, the army and its strength, rivalaries, among the courtiers, administration and sketches of the personages with whom the authors came into actual contact. It also deals the condition of the masses, their poverty: about priviledged class; main trade

routes and by roots, important cities and towns; manufacture, commodities and princes; land product and taxation. Though their unfamiliarity with the country and its politics, their ignorance of persian, their prejudices and their credulity, presented so many problems before them to interpret rightly what they saw; they preserved many popular rumours about the current affairs, nevertheless, accounts of some travellers keep immense value for this work.

Most of the travellers of early seventeenth century may be read in entirely or in part in purchase his pilgrims, by the Industrious Review. Samual Purchas (1625 A.D.), enlarged from his earlier 'purchas his pilgrimage, or Relation of the World (1613). We have used and referred to the best edition entitled 'Hakhytus poshumus or purchas Pilgrimes' published by MacLehose in 1905.

William Hawkins (1608-13)

Hawkins was the captain of the Hector, which anchored at Surat on 24th August, 1608 A.D. He arrived Agra on 6th April, 1609, with Jame's letter. Jahangir was much pleased with him to remain in his court as the resident ambassador. He was made a captain of 400 horses. He married an Armenian girl Christian girl and lived in Mughal style. He finally left India on 1st February 1612 on board one of the vessels of Sir Henry Middleton's fleet to His relation of the occurrents

which happened in the time of his residence in India, in the country of the Great Mogal, and of his departure from thence, written to the companie' in 'purchas his pilgrimes' Vol. III, pp. 1-50, edited by Maclehose. Also in the 'Hawkins voyages'. William Foster has published his account in 'Early travels in India, Oxford, 1921.

His account of Nauroz celebration, the Emperor's weighing, the court and Jahangir's daily life forms its importance for the history of Jahangir. He also writes about the condition of the general people, who came before into his knowledge. But Hawkins story is supplemented by the account of Finch. Thomas Roe has written about him that he was a "vain fool" and was blustering, haughty, boastful. He quarrelled with all his companions. Jahangir allowed him many concessions. He even took part in the private wine parties of the Emperor.

Hawkins had lived on intimate terms with the Emperor. It seems that his attention was directed more towards the riches of the Emperor. His eyes were dazzled by the grandeur of the Mughal court. He recorded the grandeur and ceremonies of Darbar more than the Emperor's personality.

William Finch (1608-11)

He landed in Surat with Hawkins in August 1608 A.D. He remained incharge of the English stores there till he was summoned to Agra by his chief. He went to Agra, but was again sent to Lahore to sell the purchased indigo. He travelled via

Delhi, Ambala and Sultanpur, and reached Lahore in February 1611 and stayed there till August. But due to low market, he besearched his officer at Agra to allow him either to carry the indigo over land to Aleppo or to relieve him of his duty and pay him his wages. Hawkins suspected on him, and secretly directed a Jesuit to arrest him. Finch, if he joined a caravan to the west, Nicholas Uffet was sent to relieve him of his duties. When Finch knew the secrecy of his arrest, he become furious and declared that hence forward he will not see the face of Hawkins. He refused to travel by sea when he was invited by John Jourdain and travelled by land to England. He fell ill and died.

Haggat delivered his clothes and his account to the East India Company. When Purchas was searching the archives of the company, he found Finch's "Large Journal" there. He got it printed in full. The manuscript has disapped now. But William Foster has published the account in a small volume entitled "The Early Travels in India, Oxford, 1921. A text of Finch's travel was published by Purchas, Hakluyt and Reley. Purchas IV, 1-71 in which observation on India are comprised in pp. 19-77. The Finch note book was finished on 11th August, 1611, he wwote the account of his travels on scraps of papers, which were probably lost. Purchas remarks that Finch supplied in substance with more accurate observation of men, beasts, plants, subcastles, bridges, regions, religions, etc. Emperor's

activities throws light on Khusru rebellion with numerous inaccuracies. He records that prisioners in the fort of Ranthambhor were brought to the top, of the wall, made to drink dishes of milk and then dashed to the rocks, Jahangir's interest in christianity and the Deccan war.

John Jourdain (1608-17)

Jourdain took part in company's fourth voyage. He stayed with Finch in Surat for three weeks. In January 1610, Finch was summoned to Agra by Hawkins and Jourdain was left behind to dispose of the stock remaining in the city. In February 1611 he arrived Agra and stayed for five months. He struggled with the Portuguse at Surat. The original copy of his records does not exist. The sloan manuscript from which his account is taken is a contemporary copy. This journal has been edited by William Foster and published by Hakluyt Society No. XVI, Second series. It keeps immense value for the doing of English traders on the Western coast; their relations with the portuguse, and their treatment by the local authorities and the notices of the cities, towns through which he passed in the second decade of 17th century.

Nicholas Downton (1608-15)

He was, Captain of the Peppercorne, a ship of two hundred and fifty tunnes and Lieutinant in the Sixth voyage to the East India Indies setforth by the company. He died of fever on 6th August 1615 at the east coast of Sumatra. His

journal or certain extracts thereof in Purchas III, pp.194-304 and exacts from his journal are kept in the second voyage are given in Purchas, IV, pp. 214-51. Both are published by Hawkluyt Society Publication Series. It throws light on the condition of the society and cities.

Nigholas Worthington (1612-16 A.D.)

He came to India as an attendant upon captain Best. In Surat, he was taken in service by the company. He visited Ahmedabad, Lahinbandar, Radhanpur, Nagpur and reached to the capital of Gujarat in 1614 in connection of the indigo business. After that he was sent to Agra, where he reached on 7th June 1614. His stay at the capital was not peaceful. In 1615 he was accused of "of a charge of difrauding the company." He was carried to Ajmer in iron, and from here was sent to Surat in chains. And in February 1616 he was sent back to his home.

A full account of his 'Tractati' was published in purchas IV, pp. 162-74, London 1735. Mr. Foster also published a full account of his travels in India in 'Early Travels in India' Oxford, 1921. It is valuable for the notices of the plundering tribes near thatta, of the manners of the people and the serais in the country.

"Thomas Coryet"

In September 1614, he started his journey towards East. He visited Diar Bakr, farbriz, Jazwin, Ishtahan and Qandahar. Near the Indian frontier he met with other foreign travellers.

Sir Rober and Lody Shirley parting their company he moved towards Agra, via Multan, Lahore and Delhi. Then he went to Ajmer, where the Emperor was staying, in July 1615. When Roe came to India he joined him. He spent fourteen months at Ajmer. When Roe went his journey towards south, he proceeded towards Agram and reached on Sept. 12, 1616. Later he joined Roe at Mandu. After that parting from Roe he went to Surat, where he died in December 1617.

He wrote an elaborate account of his Indian tour. At the time of his death it was with him. Since then it is lost. His crudities have been published in three volumes. But there is not much material in it. Mr. William Foster has also published some extracts in 'Early Travel in India', published in London, 1921. I consulted the later. There is no false modesty in the title of his work, but he gives a fine character of Jahangir.

Sir Thomas Roe (1615-19)

Born in 1580 or 81 A.D. at Leyton, he was product of Magadelan College, Oxford. He was made a squâre of the body of Queen Elezabeth and two years later in 1605 knighted by her successor. In the Addled parliament of 1614 he sat as a member from Tomworth. Selected as an ambassador to the Jahangir's Mughal court by the Directors of the 'East India Company to represent James I and try to secure further concessions for 'factories'. On 23rd December 1615, he reached Ajmer through

Swally Hole on 18th September and presented himself before the Darbar on 10th January 1616 A.D. On recovery from an illness Jahangir presented himself at the court. He lived at the court till following November, in touch with high personages, trying to vain he conclude a commercial treaty between England and the Mughal Empire. He accompanied the Emperior to Mandu in November 1616 and thence to Ahmedabad towards the close of 1617. Despairing of success in his mission, he left the court in 1618, as the Emperor was about to return and left the shores of India on 17th February 1619. Sir Thomas Roe journal was published in Purchas IV, pp. 310-468. A better edition is the 'Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Great Moghul' edited by William Foster with a critical introduction, notes and appendices, and published by Hakluyt Society. Some account are also found in 'Early Travels in India', by William Foster, Oxford, 1921.

His descriptions of the court of Prince Parvez at Burhanpur, the Imperial court and council at Ajmer, the Nauroj celebration, the Emperor's weighing and manner of life, his departure from Ajmer to Mandu are recorded. He remarked on character of Jahangir, Shahjahan and Nurjahan, Asaf Khan etc. His account of the court intrigues is picturesque and undoubtedly based on a substratum of facts. But sometimes his records seems familiar than administrative, such as the controversies between Nurjahan verses Jahangir. He saw Nurjahan only as Jahangir's wife, and neglected her intelligence and bravery recorded by

Jahangir. But his other accounts are reliable. He throws light on the condition and prospects of English trade with India and the relation of the English with portuguse.

Edward Terry

Terry was born in 1590 at Leigh in kent. Matriculated christ church Oxford, on July 1, 1608, graduated on November 26, 1611; and took the M.A. Degree in July 8, 1614. In Feb. 1616 he accepted the offer to become the captain of the fleet commanded by captain Benjamen Joseph and reached swally Hole on September 25, 1616. Sir Thomas Roe's Chaplain had died. He had requested the authorities at Surat to send another man. Terry accepted the job and joined Roe at Ujjain in February, 1617. He accompanied the Ambassador to Mandu and then went to Ahmedabad. He only saw Gujarat and Malwa. He left India in September 1618 and arrived England on 17th February 1619.

He wrote the 'voyage to East India', and presented to the Prince of Wales Charles I in 1622 A.D., published in London in 1655. Reprinted in London in 1777 A.D. Many of the most important passages are given in purchas (MacLehouse), Vol. IX, pp. 1-540. It has also been published by Mr. Foster in 'Early Travels in India', Oxford University Press, 1921.

Terry's 'Voyage' is one of the most important sources of our information. He supplements Roe's account of the life, character, and policy of Jahangir, the court, the council, the

camp, the march. His description of the 'influenza, in Gujarat in 1618, and the comet supplement the Persian chronicles. But the immense value of his work consists in the light, it throws on the manners and customs of the people. Unfortunately, he has repeated the defects of Sir Thomas Roe and his criticism of Indian Institutions and sometimes highly prejudiced and unjust.

Pietra Della Valle

Pietra Della Valle, born in April 1586 in an illustrious and ancient family of Rome, visited constantinople in 1614, travelled through Asia minor, Egypt, and Palestine, and through Persia in 1616. In January 1622 he embarked for India from Bandar-i-Abbas and reached Surat on February 10, 1622. In India he visited Kambayat, Ahmadabad, Chawl, Goa, Ikkri, Barcelor, Manghalur and Callicut. From Calcutta (Callicut) he returned to Goa, travelling along the coast and finally left India on 16th November 1624.

The first edition of his work in Italian was published in 1663. Edward Grey edited his work with a critical introduction, notes, and index, and Hakluyt Society published in two volumes. All the information about India is contained in 'the first volume'.

Della Valle describes the religious ceremonies and manners and customs of the people he saw. He gives a lifelike

picture of the hospital of animals in Cambay; a running sketch of Mughal history and contemporary events, such as the revolt of Shahjahan, briefly notices the affairs of the Deccan - Nizam Shah, the Qulb-Shahi, and the Adil Shah. He also describes the living of the people.

Francisco Pelsaert

We get no information of his early life from editor of his work 'Remonstrantie'. His career is traced from 1618, when he sailed for the East, in the Dutch company's service. He was re-engaged as the junior factor in 1620 and was sent to India. He reached Surat in December 1620. He was then posted at Agrah and remained there till 1627 A.D. rising to the post of the senior factor. He had travelled on land from Masulipatam to Surat via Burhampur to Agra. His business activities took him to Kashmir.

He wrote the 'Remonstrantie' in 1626 A.D. though it contains much material about the commercial activities of his company, it also throws light upon the social and economical life of the period. Morland says about the work "Palsart had a gift for words, but not for putting words together. His ordinary narrative consists of long, rambling sentences, loosely connected by conjections, which are not always appropriate, but is passage where he is striving for effect, the construction becomes so involved that it is sometimes impossible to be

certain of the precise meaning."

No reference to the Remonstrantie has been found earlier to the publication of Therenot's abbreviated translation of it in 1653 A.D. A manuscript of his account was preserved in Rijksarchief. It was probably written by solomon Deschamps, a junior factor, who was with him on board the Batavia, in 1628. Mr. W.H. Moreland and Prof. P. Geyl translated and published his Remonstrantie in Cambridge 1925 under the title 'Jahangir's India'.

John DeLait

John DeLait, the flemish geographer, philologist and naturalist, was born in 1593 at Antwerp and died at Leydon in 1649. His public life began at about 1625, when he 'occupied the position of the Director of the company of the West Indies. Lateron he became the Directors of the 'Dutch East India Company'. As a Director he was in touch with East Indian affairs and it enabled him to gain a knowledge of the East and especially of India, which he supplemented by a patient persual of existing itineraries and geographies.

His work 'De Imperio Magni Mogolis; sive India vera, commentarius ex variis auctoribus congestus' was first published by Elzevir at Leydon in 1631 A.D. in two Vols, both bearing the same date.

The first part, 'Descripto Indiae' has been compiled on the basis of Finch, Roe, purchas, Peter Texeira, and others, which contains geographical, commercial and administrative details. The notices of the provinces and cities were translated by E. Lethbridge in the Calcutta Review, October 1870; and January 1871.

The second part 'Fragmentum Historide, was contributed by Peter Van Broecke, President of the Dutch Factory in India in seventeenth century. The second part gives a consecutive history of Akbar and Jahangir.

The whole work was translated into English by J.S. Hoyland and annoted by S.N. Banerjee, New Delhi, 1928. This work keeps its immense value for the Imperial administration, the country's trade and trade routes, the articles of trade and the centres of production, the festivals and ceremonies of the court, the manners and pastime of the rich, the pursuits of the common people and economic condition of the country as a whole. Although it is a compilation, it is a faithful and reliable compilation. Vircent Smith is of opinion that it is based on some genuine persian chronicle.[1]

The other contemporary European accounts of India does not seem of historical importance and the later, European accounts deal the contemporary state of the English trade and the relations of the English with the Portuguese.

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1. Vincent Smith, Akbar the Great Mogol, p. 319.

Except the above mentioned sources we have also based our studies on some contempory Hindi works and some important modern works.

E- Contemporary Hindi Sources

1. Keshava Das's Jahangir Chandrika

Keshav Das, one of the great scholar of Hindi literature, who belonged to the Subah of Bir Singh Deo, had composed a long ecology, which pretends to be a life, of his patron's patron, the Emperor Jahangir, entitled "Jahangir Chandrika." This work does not give us any new information derived from persian sources. Nevertheless it is valuable, as it shows, what a great Hindu poet thought of his sovereign. The copies of work can be found only in Jaipur and its neighbourhood.

2. Bir Singh Deo Charitra

This is an another contemporary Hindi work, composed by Keshava Das in 1607 A.D. In this work, the charitra or life of his patron Bir Singh Deo has been written, who had murdered Shaikh Abul Fazl on Jahangir's direction in 1602 A.D. It has been written in Braj Bhasha of the country which is popular round Agra and Mathura. It seems that this work is not common outside Bundelkhand, because I did not get its copy in other libraries, where I went for my work. It comprises 144 pages.

3. Bir Vinod

This is 'History of Rajputana' composed by Kaviraj Shymal Das, based on persian chronicles as well as on Rajput-bardic literature. This work was compiled by the author, by the order of the Udaipur Darbar and then suppressed. This work is important on historical point of view. This is common in India. I found its copy in Banaras Hindu University Library. The portions dealing with the period covered by Jahangir's reign supply much new information about the history of the Rajputs and their relation with the Mughals.

Modern Works

James Tod

Lieut. Colonel James Tod has composed the work, "The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan" or the Central and Rajport States of India in two volumes. This work is totally based on the accounts of the people of Rajasthan from whom, Mr. Tod consulted and collected the materials. The best and latest reprint is that published by George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., London, which is common.

Though James Tod was foreigner, but he collected the materials for this work from the people of Rajasthan, who presented therein view of events and transactions in India during the Mohamedan period. Though his dates and facts are sometimes wrong, but he often supplies information not to be found else-

where. Such as, he writes that Bhagwan Das was the first Rajput who made matrimonial alliance with the Mughal ruling family, betrothing his daughter with Prince Salim.[1] Tod avowedly offered his work 'as a copious collection of materials for the future historian'. As such he can be ranked as an original authority.

Fancis Gladwin

The History of Hindustan during the reigns of Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb by Francis Gladwin, Vol. I, published in Calcutta, 1788, is based mainly on the 'Massir-i-Jahangiri' of which it is in fact an intelligent summary. Some materials have been taken from the memoirs of Jahangir. The first twelve pages, deal the particular events during the reign of Akbar relating to Sultan Salim, give a account of prince's revolt. The rest of the work follows the unsystematic, unscientific, order of the persian order of the persian chronicles of Jahangir's reign. This work is rare in India. Ia consulted copy of this work in National Library, Calcutta.

Conclusion

From a study of the above mentioned authorities we have come to conclusion that Jahangir's reign was also the

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1. James, Tod, II, p. 282.

the glorious epoch in the Medieval period. There was peace and prosperity everywhere. Art and Literature flourished under the royal patronage. Glorious military campaigns were undertaken during his reign. The Emperor took much care of his subjects and officers. The justice of the king was such popular and balanced that even birds and beasts felt ease in his empire.

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Chapter 2

SALIM THE PRINCE

Birth

In his memoirs Jahangir says that he was born on Wednesday, 17th Rabi-ul-awwal 977 A.H.[1] This date corresponds to 31st August, 1569 A.D.[2] Dr. Beni Prasad in his authoritative work on 'Jahangir' has referred to different sources in which the different dates are noticed.[3] But himself is determined on 30th August. He says that, Jahangir was born on "Wednesday noon, August 30, 1569."[4] But it is to be noted that in actual practice the day of the 'Hijra Era' begins after the sun set and Jahangir clearly writes that "when seven ghari of the aforesaid day had passedm when Libra (Mizan) had risen to the 24th degree, God Almighty brought me into existence from the hiding place of nothingness."[5] The sun sets near about at 7 p.m., during the period of 15th August to 15th September. Therefore, seven ghari after the sun set would be passed twelve p.m. and if one uses the English calendar, which begins after 12 [illegible], certainly date should be changed. According to Jahangir, he born on in the night of Wednesday, after 12 p.m., which corresponds to 31st August not the 30th August.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 2.
2. Ibid.
3. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 1, n. 1.
4. Ibid, p. 1.
5. Tuzuk (R. and B.), I, p. 2.

Another problem arises, when Jahangir says in connection of his regulations after his accession that the 18th Rabiul awwal,[1] is my birth day." It seems that the birth day festival is celebrated at night, after the birth takes place. Jahangir born at midnight, therefore, after his accession, he gave an order that his birth day should be celebrated on 18th Rabi, at the evening of Thursday. We think that Jahangir decided to make Thursday instead of Wednesday as his birthday because, when his birth took place, Wednesday had reached to its last quarter, and so the following day Thursday was approaching, when Jahngir saw the light of the day. So the common sense does not allow us to agree with the view of Mr. Beveridge that Wednesday was an unlucky day for Jahangir and so he made Thursday his birthday.[2]

Ancestry

Timur: Jahangir refers to his ancestor, the famous Timur, in his memoirs.[3] It is to be noted that Jahangir remembered that he was a descendant of the great Timur, the scourage of Asia, and so we find on his visit to Kabul that he got engrave his name along with the name of Timur, whose posthomas title was 'Sahib-i-Qirani' on a seat made of stone.[4] There we find that Jahangir saw on the slope of a hill, a seat known as 'Takht-i-Shah (the throne of the King), on which Babar used

1. Ibid, p. 9, Regulation No. 11.
2. Tuzuk (R. and B.) I, p. 9, n.1.
3. Ibid, p. 107.
4. Ibid.

to sit and drink. Jahangir got built another seat like this for himself and on this seat he had his name inscribed along with the name of his famous ancestor Timur.

In the centre of the Shahr-ara garden, on the bank of a canal there were two trees between which a white stone piller was set up by the order of Jahangir, and here also, he got engraved his name along with his ancestors upto Timur.[1] Here, we get Jahangir was proud of the fact that he was a descendant of Timur. Here Jahangir's artistic temperament is reflected in the fact that he had given pleasing names to those two trees, because which, that particular while stone was set up. He says that he gave the name of Farah Bakhsh (jay giver) to one of the trees and saya. Bakhsh (Shade giver) to another. Here we find a pictures the presentation of his love for nature. It is further to be noted that on the other side of the same stone table, it was set forth by the order of Jahangir that he had done away with the whole of the customs dues and charges of Kabul, and "whichever of my descendants and successors should do anything contrary to this would be involved in the wrath and displeasure of God."[2] Here we find that his order was carried out and he showed particular favour to the people of Kabul, especially to the habitants of Ghazni.[3] This kind of special care for the

1. Tuzuk (R. and B.) Op.cit. P.107
2. Ibid, pp. 107-8.
3. Ibid, p. 108.

people of Kabul and Ghazni on the part of Jahangir probably shows his reverence for Timur and his descendants who were his forefathers, for of Jahangir's reverence for Timur can be seen in his opinion, when he received a picture of Timur from Muqarrab Khan of the Timur when "yildirim Bayazid was taken prisioner by his victorious army, a Nazarene, who at that time was ruler of constantinople, had sent an ambassador with gifts and presents in token of submission and service; and an artist who had been sent with ambassador took his likeness and brought it away. If this story were true, no better gift could be presented to me."[1] Further Jahangir received the portrait of Timur, which was brought by his ambassador Khan Alam from the illustrious library of Shah Ismail, king of Persia, and at that time it was under possession of Shah Abas. Jahangir remarks that "it was indeed the assistance of his destiny that gave such rare things. Among them was the picture of the fight of Sahib Kiran (Timur) with Taqtamish Khan, and the likeness of him and his glorious children and the great Amirs who had the good fortune to be with him in that fight."[2] In the above facts we see Jahangir's regard and love for Timur, his great ancestor.

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1. Tuzuk (R. and B.), Op.cit., p. 154.
2. Ibid, II, pp. 115-16.

Chingiz Khan

As regards Changiz Khan, the other famous ancestor of Jahangir, we find him referred elsewhere in the text. In the connection with the practice of prostration before the elders, which was obtained in the Mughal family, Jahangir says that it was custom of Chingiz Khan. So we find that the custom of Chingiz Khan was observed in the Mughal family.[1] So it is not right on the part of Abul Fazl to say in Ain-i-Akbari that this practice was introduced by Akbar.[2] So it has been rightly observed that Jahngir recognised the relationship by priding himself on observing the customs of Chingiz as well as the regulations of Timur. Jahangir tells us that Khusrau, his rebel son, after he was captured, was brought before him "with his hands tied and chains on his legs from the left side after the manner and customs of Chingiz Khan."[3] It is to be noted according to S. Roy that Chingiz Khan was not given any recognition by Babar as his ancestor.[4] If it were so, Jahangir would not referred to Chingiz Khan as we are noticing in his memoirs. Since the Mughal were not the direct descendants of Chingiz Khan, it is natural that the name of Chingiz Khan would most find that much of prominence as Timur in Mughal history and the geneological tables. Babar's

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1. Tuzuk (R. and B.), I, p. 76.
2. Ain (Blochman), I, p. 167.
3. Tuzuk (R. and B.) I, p. 68; see also Smith, V.A., Akbar the Great Mogol, p. 10 and n. 1; (E. and D.) VI, p. 507.
4. S. Roy, The Mughal Empire, VII, B. (B.V.B. Series), p.25, n. 1.

hatred for Chingiz Khan and his descendants could not effect Jahangir, and he referred Chingiz Khan in his memoirs, regarding his customs.[1]

We further find Jahangir, informing the bakhshis that who ever wished to have his birth place made into his jagir, should make representation to that effect, so that "in accordance with the Chingiz canon (tura) the state might be conveyed to him by altumgha and become his property, and he might be secured from apprehension of charge."[2] Thus, here also we find that Jahangir respected and observed the laws of Chingiz Khan. Babar's antipathy towards Chingiz Khan, pointed out by the author, S. Roy did not persist in his descendant Jahangir, as he not only observed the customs of Chingiz Khan, but also introduced elements from his administrative system. Thus, the opinion of Mr. S. Roy about the 'Babar's disregard for Chingiz Khan and his descendants,[3] so does not seem correct when we pay to the certain facts given by Gulbadan Begam in 'Hurnayu-namah. According her, Babar gave order that he would take into his full favour, whoever would enter his service respectly, those who served his father, grandfather and ancestors. Here we find him (Babar) giving the declaration of his order,

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1. Smith, V.A., Akbar the Great Mogol, p. 10, n. 1.
2. Tuzuk (R. and B.) I, p. 23.
3. Supra, p. 4.
4. Gulbadan Begam (Engr. Mrs. Beveridge), p. 97.

"whoever there may be of the families of sahib Qiran and Chingiz Khan let them turn towards our court."[1]

Babar

In the first reference to Babar in his memoirs Jahangir says the remarkable fact of history in his own language, "when God Almighty bestowed the rule of India on this illustrious family, the late king, Babar, after the defeat of Ibrahim, the som of Sikandar Lodi, and his being killed, and after his victory over Rana Sanga, who was the chief of the Rajas of Hindustan, established on the east side of the Jumna, on improved land, a garden (Charbagh) which few places equal in beauty."[2] Here Jahangir refers Babar as the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, we find the same his brical fact noted elsewhere. He was invited by Daulat Khan to invade India, who had sent his son Dilawar Khan, then the governor of Punjab, Babar for this purpose.[3] After his conquests, when he established his rule in India, he made lofty garden on the eastern side of Jamuna at Agra and named it 'Gul Afsan' (flowers scatterer) and erected in it a small building of cut red stone and a mosque a mosque on one side of it. Jahangir, in this connection further says that he (Babar) had intended to make a lofty building at that place, but he could not live long and his design was not carried into execution.[4] Here

1. Gulbadan Begam (Engr. Mrs. Beveridge), p. 97.
2. Tuzuk (R. and B.), I, p. 4, He defeated Rana Sanga; also see Ibid, p. 250.
3. Tuzuk (R. and B.), I, p. 87.
4. Ibid, pp. 4-5.

we also find Jahangir telling that Firdus Makani, is the term used for Babar 'padshah' just as Jannat Ashyani, for Humayun 'padshah' and Arsh-Ashyani for Akbar 'padshah'.[1] In this matter we are enlighted by an author that such title were given to the royal personages after their demise.[2]

While describing his visit to Kabul Jahangir gives us some interesting facts about Babar. He says that in Shahr-ara garden, he saw a seat on which Babar used to sit and drink. On that seat he saw the following inscription, "The seat of the king, the asylum of 'Umar Shaikh Gurgan, may God perpetuate his kingdom 914 (1508-9)'.[3]

Jahangir refers to the fact that Babar was a master of persian literature, which is proved by his memoirs entitled 'Tuzuk-i-Babari' or 'Babarnama'.[4] He recited verses also. Referring a saint in Transoxiona, named khwaja Hashim in whom the people of that country had great belief, Jahangir say that the saint sent him a letter by hand of one of his diciples pointing out his old devotion, connection and friendship of his ancestors with the royal family. The said saint sent a farji (coat),[5] abow and a couplet. The couplet was recited by Babar. For a saint of the name of Khwajagi, who was ancestor of the said saint. Jahangir unites the last hemistich of the couplet

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1. Tuzuk R. and B.) I, p. 5.
2. Smith, V.A., Akbar the Great Mogol, p. 58.
3. Tuzuk (R. and B.)I, p. 108.
4. Ibid, pp. 109-10.
5. Farji Means Coat, See Ain I (Blochman), p. 89.

of Babar:

"We are bond to the Khwajagi and are servant to the Khwajagi."[1] The fact thrours light on Babar's devotion for the saints, and on his art of reciting poetry. Thus we see that Jahangir regarded his great grandfather very much and in some manners, he inhesited him, such as his drinking, love of garden etc., which will be discussed further.[2]

Humayun

Among the stray references to Humayun in our text, we find him as a patron of painters (artists). He gave the title of 'Shirin Qalam' to a painter Abdu-s-Samad.[3] Next noticable point about Humayun is that he had great faith in a saint named Shaikh Muhammad Kamgar. Humayun had such a high esteem for him that himself once poured water on his hands. Jahangir refers that the said saint was one of the great men of the age.[4] About Humayun's interest in hunting we born from Jahangir that once he bagged a rhenoceros.[5] It was Humayun who arranged the marriage of Salima Sultan Begam with Bairam Khan, the famous tutor and guardian of Akbar. She was the same Sultan Begam, who was befrothed to Akbar after death of Bairam Khan.[6]

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1. Tuzuk (R. and B.) I, p. 304.
2. Infra, Chapter VI, see Jahangir's habit of 'drinking' and his gardening.
3. Tuzuk (R. and B.) I, p. 15.
4. Ibid, p. 135.
5. Ibid, p. 102.
6. Ibid, p. 232.

We get a remarkable fact from Jahangir that Humayun was master of science of astronomy. In this connection, it is worthquoting, what Jahangir says - "Abdu-s-Sattar presented as an offering a compledium, in the handwriting of the late king Humayun, containing some prayers, an introduction to the science of astronomy, and other marvelous things, most of which he had studied and carried into practice. After reverently inspecting his auspicious handwriting, I felt a joy such as I had seldom experience. I was exceedingly, rejected for, by God, no precious thing I have can be compared with this."[1] Jahangir in pleasure, rewarded the main who brought the above mentioned prayer of Humayun, increasing his mansab and gave him 10,000 rupees.[2] Thus we see that Jahangir had regard for his ancestors. He full pride for the good deeds, bravery of his ancestors. Here he shows his happiness and pride on the brilliancy of his grandfather Humayun, that he was scholar of the science of astronomy and introduced many marvellous things and carried them into practice. This fact clears the approach of the Mughal Emperor Humayun that he himself was a great scholar.

Akbar

Jahangir inherited from his father a big dominion, in India. Referring his father Akbar describes the well known facts of his early and later conquests over Hemu, when he

1. Tuzuk (R. and B.), II, p. 82.
2. Ibid.

ascended the throne in his 14th year, and other conquests of Gujarat, and Bengal, the capture of well-know forts of Chitor and Ranthambhor, the subjection of the province of Khandesh, and the taking of the fort of Asir and other provinces, which brought into the Mughal possession by the excertions of the royal armies.[1]

Jahangir refers Akbar as a fine shot. "He had no rival in shooting with a gun, and with the one with which he killed Jitmal, and which was called Sangram, he killed some 3,000 or 4,000 birds and beasts.[2] Referring his personality Jahangir says that although he was illiterate, he associated with the good of every race and creed and persuation, and was gracious to all in accordance with their condition and understanding. He passed his night in wakefulness, and slept little in the day, the period of his sleep during a whole night and day was not more than four and half hours (one watch and a half). He was such courageous and bold that he could mount raging, rutting elephants, and subdue to obedience murderous elephants, which would not allow their own females near them.[3] He would place himself on a wall or tree near which an elephant was passing that had killed it drivers or the females, or "not have allowed its approach" or broken loose from restraint, and

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1. Tuzuk (R. and B.) II, pp. 38-45.
2. Ibid, p. 45, Abul Fazl, Ain I (Blochman), p. 116, say that Akbar killed 1,009 animals with sangram.
3. When an elephant is bad tempered he does not harm to the female or his driver, see, Tuzuk (R. and B.), I, p. 38.

putting his trust in God's favour, would throw himself on its back and thus by merely mounting, would bring it under control and tame it. This was repeatedly seen."[1]

Food

Further referring the food of his father Jahangir writes, "Of the ansterities practiced by my revered father, one was the not eating the flesh of animals." During the three months of the year he ate meat, and for the remaining nine months of the year he took sufifood and did not like the slaughter of animals.[2]

Personal Appearance

Jahangir refers to Akbar's personal appearance that he was of middle height, but inclining to be tall; of the hue of wheat; his eyes and eyebrows were black and his complexion rather dark than fair, lioned-bodied, with broad chest, and long hands and arms. On the left side of his nose, he had a fleshy mole, very aggreeble in appearance, of the size of on behalf of a pea. Jahangir says about the mole that it was declared sign of great prosperity and exceeding good fortune by those, who were skilled in the science of 'physiognomy'. 'His august voice was very loud, and in speaking and explaining had a peculiar richness. In his actions and movement he

1. Tuzuk (R. and B.), I, pp. 33, 38.
2. Ibid, p. 45; He took no flesh on eve of Sundary, Ibid, p. 184.

differed from the general people, and it seemed that the glory of manifested itself in him.[1] Jahangir composed the following couplets about his appearance -

> "Greatness in his manner, kingship in his lineage,
> As if solomon would have put the ring on his
> fingure."[2]

Thus, we see that Jahangir shows pride on the fact that he was son of such a mighty and generous ruler like Akbar. In his regard he celebrated anniversary of his birthday.[3]

Akbar's Prayer for an Hair

Regarding his father Akbar, Jahangir gives more or less the same fact noticed in the accounts of contemporary sources. He says that upto the age of twenty eight, Akbar had no living child and he was continually praying for the survival of a son to denishes and recluus.[4] In this connection, he took a vow that he would go on foot to visit the mausoleum of Khwaja Muinuddin Chisti of Ajmer, if he was blessed with a son.[5]

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1. ~~Ibid~~, Tuzuk (R. and B.) I, pp. 33-34 (E. and D.) VI, p. 376.
2. Tuzuk (R. and B.) I, p. 34.
3. Ibid, p. 127.
4. Tuzuk (R. and B.) I, p. 1; An (Beveridge), II, pp. 356-57, 503. Nizamuddin (E. and D.) V, p. 332, Ferishta, (Briggs), II, p. 23, Badauni, (Lowe), II, p. 112, Price, 3, 4.
5. Tuzuk (R. and B.) I, p. 1.

Shaikh Salim of Sikari

As we have already stated that Akbar was very much anxious to have a son, became to know about a Muslim saint, named Shaikh Salim, who lived in a village name Sikari near Agra. The people of the neighbourhood had great faith in this saint. So Akbar, who had great regard for dervishes, visited the Shaikh. One day in great mental agony he asked the Shaikh, how many sons he should have? and the Shaikh told him that he would be blessed with three sons by the mercy of God. Then Akbar said to the Shaikh that after getting the first he would cost that child under the protecting care of the Shaikh. The Shaikh accepted the idea and promised to give the child his own name.[1]

In this connection we see that Abul Fazl gives the following facts. According to him, Akbar was anxious for an hair and he in spite of his boundless treasure he was a sicker of the knowledge of God from dervishes ascetics and theologians. At this time Shaikh Salim on inhabitant of the town of Sikari was the most conspicuous of all the holy men of that time. It has been observed that in God knowingness, God-worshiping and austerty he was the most prominent person. Akbar came to know about him from the courtiers and so was decided that the lady, "the prospective mother of the Prince Salim, along with the officers attached to the Zenana should be conveyed to

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Tuzuk (R. and B), I,
1. ~~Ibid~~, p. 2.

Fathpur[1] and should enjoy repose the vicinity of the Shaikh. It was also ordered that a royal palace should be established there so that the saintly Shaikh might address himself to the "Author of the bodies" for the attainment of the great boon. The blessing of his proximity were magnifested in appearance of the desired object.... At length at a auspicious movement the child who has been described as the unique pearl of the caliphate emerged at the shore existence in the city of Fathpur."[2]

On this subject Nizamuddin Ahmad gives further details which suggests that even before the birth of Prince Salim, Fathpur Sikari was taking the shape of a magnificent city because Akbar was visiting the place frequently and at every occasion he stayed there for ten to twenty days. He got commenced a fine building for himself on the top of a hill near the Shaikh's monastry. The Shaikh also commenced a new monostry and a fine mosque.... near the royal mansion for himself. When one of the Emperor's wife became pregnant, he conveyed her to the dwelling of the Shaikh and left her, there. Sometimes he stayed there and sometimes at Agra. Thereon Wednesday, 18th Rabi-ul-awwal 977 AH., Prince Sultan Salim Mirza was born in the house of Shaikha Salim Chisti in the town of Fathpur.[3]

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1. Here in we find that Abul Fazl says Fathpur to Sikri, before the birth of Prince Salim; AN (Beveridge), II, p.502.
2. A.N. (Beveridge), II, pp. 502-3.
3. Nizammuddin Ahmad (E. and D.), V, pp. 332-34.

Jahangir also write that when her mother came near the time of her delivery. She was sent by Akbar to the Shaikh's house, so that he might born there. After his birth the Prince was hamed Sultan Salim, by the Shaikh.[1]

Who was Salim's Mother?

Now the question arises regarding the identification of Salim's mother. We have already noticed that neither in Tabkat-i-Akbari by Nizamuddin Ahmad nor in memoirs of Jahangir, the name of the lady, the mother of Salim is mentioned. Abul Fazl who was very close to Akbar describes the lady in ambiguous language. So having given the facts that Akbar in the desire of having a son visited Shaikh Salim at Sikari and as he was informed about the miraculas power of the Shaikh. It was "determined that the martiy of sun of fortune together with several of the officials attached to the zenana (the screen of chastity) should be conveyed to Fathpur and should enjoy repose in the vicinity of the Shaikh." Abul Fazl proceeds to describe the birth of Salim in his poetic language. Neither in the above mentioned sources nor in accounts of Badauni, Ferishta and other sources, the name of the mother of prince Salim can be found, has been pointed out by Beni Prasad in his authoritative work on Jahangir.[2] However, the said author has observed in very confident that the Rajput Princes (daughter of Raja Biharimal),

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1. Tuzuk (R. and B.), I, p. 2.
2. Beni Prasad, 'History of Jahangir, p. 5, n. 9.

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Maryam-uz-Zamani, as she was officially styled, became the mother of Salim.[1] We shall presently discuss the problem whether Salim's mother, whoever see, was given the title of Maryam-uz-Zamani. But before that we have to see if and how far it is right on the past of historians to declare that Salim's mother was no other than the said Rajput princess of Amber. An observation made by Jahangir about this lady, the daughter of Raja Biharimal and aunt of Raja Mansingh strikes at the very root of the fiction that she was the mother of Salim afterward Emperor Jahangir. Jahangir says that after his accession he honoured Raja Mansingh and made him the governor of Bengal because Raja Mansingh's aunt had been in his father's (Akbar) house and he had married with the sister of the said Raja and Jahangir had two children Khusrau and Sultanu-n-nisa Begam by that lady.[2] It is not possible that I could refer to his mother in this kind of language whereas he has very clearly stated that he married Mansingh's sister who became the mother of Khusrau. So nothing can stop Jahangir writing in clear terms that Mansingh's aunt was his own mother. In the translation of Tuzuk by Jahangir (R.and B.)[3] it has been given in bracket in connection with this aunt of Raja Mansingh who in the language of Jahangir 'had been in my father's house', was Akbar's wife. But this kind of conjecture cannot be supported by any evidence from

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1. Beni Prasad, Op.cit., pp. 5-6.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 12.
3. Ibid.

contemporary sources. Secondly it is very significant that Col. Tod famous historian of Rajasthan say that the first matrimonial alliance between the Rajput and the Mughal family was the marriage between Salim and Mansingh's sister, who afterwords became the mother of Prince Khusru. Let us see what Tod says, that "the name of Bhagwan Das is excerles as the first who sullied. Rajput purity by matrimonial alliance with the Islamits. His daughter espoused prince Salim afterwords Jahangir, and the fruit of the marriage was the unfortunate Khusru.[1] So the theory that Salim's mother was the Rajput princess, the sister of Bhagwan Das and daughter of Raja Biharimal is untenable. It is to be noted further that Tod has described in details how this family of Jaipur since the days of Biharimal called Bharamul by Tod was in close friendly relation with the Mughal dynasty. Tod says that Biharimal 'attended the fortunes of Babar, and received from Hemayoon (previous to pathan usurpation), the mansabar of 5000 as Raja of Ambar[2]. Tod continues further that 'Bhagwan Das son of Baharmall, became more intimately allied with the Mughal dynasty. He was the friend of Akbar who saw the full value of attaching such men to his throne.[3] In continuation of narrating facts. Tod has given that information already noticed that Bhagwandas was the first Rajput who polluted the purity by

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1. Tod, James, II, p. 286.
2. Ibid,
3. Ibid.

by marrying his dauther with Prince Salim, lateron emperor Jahangir. Since Tod was so fully conversant with the facts of this Rajput family at its intimate relation with the Mughal dynesty, he would have certainly mentioned the marriage of Akbar with the daughter of Biharimal, who is stated to be mother of Salim in most of the authoritative works dealing with the history of Mughals. It is however, surprising that Abul Fazl has given in details the description of Akbar's marriage with Bihari Mal's daughter. And this may be the reason for which the historians have accepted this fact as correct historical fact. Some author like Smith[1], A.L. Srivastava[2] have gone so far to say that this marriage alliance secured for Akbar and his descendants strong support of this Rajput family. But we have already seen that Rajput history is totally silent about this alliance.[3] As regards the loyalty of this family is concerned is known fact of history. This Rajput family since the days of Babar established alliance with the Mughals in their own interest. It is further to be noted that though Abul Fazl tells us that Akbar married Raja Bihari Mal's daughter. He is not telling us that she was the

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1. Smith, V.A., p. 58, n.1 (Akbar the Great Mughal).
2. Srivastava, A.L., Akbar the Great, p. 88.
3. James, Tod, II, p. 256.

mother of Prince Salim. We have already seen that Jahangir simply refers to an aunt of Mansing (who might be the said daughter of Biharimal, married to Akbar according to Abul Fazl), who lived in the house of Akbar. In this connection it is to be noted that he (Jahangir) held in high respect for the Shaikh Salim's daughter, who has been mentioned greater than his own mother by Jahangir, who brought him up. And after her death, he says, he himself carried his corps on his shoulder. While she was going to be buried.[1] About his own mother Jahangir does not give any fact who she was Jahangir himself lived uptil the age of 58 years and so we can reasonably assume that his own mother might had expired before him but Jahangir's total silence about the life of his mother in the Mughal harem or her position as the emperor's mother are not given clearly.

Although in Akbarnama by Abul Fazl, the name of the lady who gave birth to Salim is not given. But Mr. Beveridge[2] in this connection has observed that though Abul Fazl has not given her name 'there is little doubt that she was Biharimal's daughter and that her title was possibly Maryam Zamani. Mr. Beveridge refers to 'History of Lahor' by S.M. Latif, and the statement of Sujan Roy in Khulsat-ut-Tawarikh. But it is surprising fact that Latif has given different opinion in his different works. In his work on Agra, Mr. Latif say that Maryam Zamani was the Christian Lady.[3] In his other work on

1. Tuzuk (R. and B.), I, p. 85.
2. A.N. (Beveridge), II, p. 506, n. 2.
3. Latif, S.M., Agra, pp. 194

Punjab, he obviously says that he was born of favourite Sultana.[1] And in his work on 'Lahore' he refers to mosque in Lahore on which the following inscription is inscribed.[2]

(a) Inscription on The Northern Gateway :

اللہ اکبر

منت ایزد راکہ آخر گشت کار از ابتدا
ہم بتوفیق خدا و حکم صاحب مسندے
حضرت مریم زمانی بانی ھذا المکان
کز عنایات الٰہی ساختہ جای بدے
از پے تاریخ ختم این بنائے چون بہشت
فکری کردم کہ آخر یافتم خوش مسجدے

(b) Inscription on The Eastern Gateway :

شاہ عالمگیر نور الدین محمد بادشاہ
باد یارب در جہان روشن چو نور مہر و ماہ

(c) Inscription on The Northern Arch :

قال رسول اللہ صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم المومن فی المسجد
کالسمک فی الما ۔

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1. Latif, S.M., Punjab, p. 139
2. Latif, S.M. Lahore, p. 131.

Referring the inscription on the mosque Mr. Latif says Maryam Zamani's name is associated with Jahangir. Beveridge seems to suggest that this fact lends support to the hypothesis that Maryam Zamani was Jahangir's mother. But in the said inscription engraved on the mosque we simply find that the construction of the said mosque was started by Maryam Zamani and completed by emperor Jahangir. There is nothing more in the inscription which can held us to possitively assert that Maryam Zamani was the mother of emperor Jahangir. We can simply say this much that she held in the highest esteem in Mughal harem in the times of Jahangir and in all probability she was one of the wives of Akbar who belonged to the highest rank.

Regarding the statement of Sujan Roy in Khulasah-ut-Tawarikh Mr. Beveridge says[1] that Rajput princess, the daughter of Raja Bihari Mal, later styled as Maryam Zamani was the mother of Prince Salim. This fact referred by Mr. Beveridge does not give clear identity of Salim's mother. Mr. Roy was contemporary of Aurangzeb. It is noteworthy that before Mr. Roy, there were so many historians during the reign of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan; who did not give any details about the identity of Salim's mother. If historians like Abul Fazl, Badauni, Nizamuddin Ahmad, Jahangir, Mutamad Khan, Abdul Hamid, Lahori and even the foreign travellers are silent about this fact, how we can be agree with the opinion of Sujan Roy. To form any such opinion

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1. A.N. (Beveridge), II, p. 566, n.2.

in the 'Tuzuk-i-Jahan', though the name of this lady 'Maryam Zamani occurs in several places. But there is nothing in this text which can help us to ascertain the correct identity of this lady and her relation with Jahangir.

Maryam Zamani

It has been generally held that Maryam Zamani was the title of the Rajput Princess of Ambar, supposed to be the mother of Jahangir. Let us see the references to Maryam Zamani in Tuzuk. The first reference found in Tuzuk is that while Jahangir, going on pursuit of his rebel son Khusru had left his son Khurram incharge of the palaces and treasury. After the dispute connected with the Khusru was settled he ordered Khurram to escort 'Hazart Maryam Zamani and other ladies to him'. When the said party reached to the neighbourhood of Lahore, Jahangir says that he took a boat and went to meet his mother in a village named Dhar.[1] This kind of narration may suggest that this mother was Maryam Zamani. But it may also suggests that this party of the royal ladies, headed by Maryam Zamani, included Jahangir's mother, whoever see might be. Because ambiguity of the language does not allow us to identify with certainty, Maryam Zamani with Salim's mother.

The second reference to this lady is in connection with the weighing ceremony of Jahangir on his solar birthday and

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1. Ruzuk (R. and B.) I, p. 76.

the feast in this connection were performed in the house of Maryam Zamani.[1] Here Jahangir does not clearly mention that all these were performed in the house of his own mother Maryam Zamani, though he certainly says that according to custom, all these were observed in the house of Maryam Zamani. It suggests that this lady was his mother. In 'Ain' we see in case of Akbar that whenever his long fast ended the first dishes of meat came dressed from the appartment of Maryam Makani, his own mother.[2] It is however, not clear why Jahangir creates confusion for us by not stating clearly that Maryam zamani was no other than his own mother. In connection with marriage of Parvaz we find in Tuzuk that the marriage ceremony took place in the house of 'Her Highness' Maryam Zamani.[3] The marriage of the Prince who was the son of the emperor Jahangir was, thus solemnised in the house of Maryam Zamani. This signifies the importance of the lady in the Mughal harem. But again the problem arises why Jahangir does not refer to her as his own mother. At this stage when emperor Jahangir was firmly established as sovereign of India, his mother was the queen mother and it is expected that she is to be referred to within a more respectful language by her Imperial son.

Again we find when Jahangir married Mansingh's grand daughter, the marriage was performed in the house of "Her Highness"

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.) I, p. 78.
2. Ain, Blochman, p. 65.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 81

Maryam Zamani.[1] So a sort of sanctity is found to attached to this lady in the case of Parvez we have seen that the marriage took place in the house of this lady and the entertainment was held in the house of Parvez. But Jahangir does not tell clearly who this lady was?

We find again that Jahangir's weighing ceremony took place in the house of this lady who is here simply referred to as Maryam Zamani.[2] Here no respect epithet is added to her name.

While going on elephant hunting to Gujarat, Jahangir sent back Hazrat Maryam Zamani and other ladies to Agra.[3] Again we find Jahangir visiting a garden and a well built by the order of Maryam Zamani.[4] On other occasion we find Jahangir stating revered Maryam Zamani, who had become very weak in health, could not come out to meet him, though other royal ladies and inhabitants came out to meet him on some particular occasion.[5]

Again we find Jahangir saying that Her Majesty revered Maryam Zamani came from Agra to Fathpur and Jahangir says that he got blessing from her, which were sources of eternal good fortune for him.[6] Again on the other occasion we find Jahangir referring to Maryam Zamani along with other ladies of the harem.[7]

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1. Tuzuk, (R.and B.), I, p. 145.
2. Ibid, p. 230.
3. Ibid, p. 401.
4. Ibid, II, p. 64.
5. Ibid, p. 66.
6. Ibid, p. 68.
7. Ibid, p. 123.

In the connection of the marriage of Prince Shahryar we find that marriage ceremony was performed in the place of Maryam uz-Zamani and marriage feast was held in the house of Imadudaula.[1] In last reference to Maryam Zamani in Tuzuk is that while Jahangir was at Fathpur, he received the news of death of 'Her Highness Maryam Zamani'at Agra. We find Jahangir expressing his feeling at this news in the following words that "I trust that almighty God will envelop her in the ocean of His mercy.[2]

From all the above references we can reasonably infur that this lady Maryam Zamani held a very high rank among the ladies of the harem. Further we find some religious sanctity attached to her and it is because three marriages solemnised in her residence. It is also noteworthy that marriage entertainments and feasts were held elsewhere and thus peace and quietud of her abode were not in the least disturbed. The fact that she has been referred to 'Her Majesty' Maryam Zamani by Jahangir in several places, we can reasonably infur that possibly she was the first living consort of Akbar. The term 'Her Majesty' should be fittingly applied to the consort of the reigning monarch. But though Jahangir was at this time the sovereign of this country, ther term 'Her Majesty' used to Maryam Zamani cannot certainly mean that she was a consort of Jahangir himself. Jahangir's reverence for her and the fact that he says that Maryam Zamani's blessings were a source of

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.)II, p. 202.
2. Ibid. p. 261.

eternal good luck for him, certainly mean that she was a lady, who was in the rank of mother or grandmother for Jahangir. But as we have already pointed out, Jahangir nowhere in Tuzuk has told us who she was. In none of the other sources dealing with the history of Akbar and Jahangir we find the exact identity of his lady. Since we have already seen that the daughter of Raja Biharimal was not Jahangir's mother and Akbar marriage with her does not find any mentioned in the history of Rajasthan by James Tod, the identification of Maryam Zamani with Bihari Mal's daughter as mother of Jahangir seems imaginary. Though in all the authoritative works of this period including Encyclopedia Britanica this kind of fact has been given. We have shown that there is no logical strength behind this fabriacated tale. Smith, V.A.[1] in his work on Akbar has tried to establish this theory, but his efforts lack solid historical evidence.

Further, even if we are inclined to believe that Akbar married Bihari Mal's daighter, we cannot reasonably identify her with this lady Maryam Zamani for the following reasons. In the Agra Fort, there will exists the temples in which Akbar's Hindu wife used to worship Hindu Gods and Godesses. If Bihari Mal's daughter was his wife she was in all probability one of those Hindu queens, who continued their Hindu religious practices. We do not know if and how far Bihari Mal's daughter, the

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1. Smith, V.A., Akbar the Great Mogol, p. 58, m.l.

supposed mother of Jahangir was inclined to Islamic faith. Even if she had come under the influence of Islam, we have no evidence to prove that she has become such a staunch believer in the faith of Muhammad that the marriages of Parvez, Shahryar and Jahangir himself were performed in her residence. So it is illogical to identify Bihari Mal's daughter with Maryam Zamani, who in Tuzuk gives the impression of a very orthodox Muslim lady. So far as the accounts of the European travellers are concerned, Raliph Finch[1] who visited to India during Akbar's times, tells us that Salim was son of one of the wives of Akbar and that he was born in Fathpur Sikari. De Laet[2] whose account is based on the facts collected by merchants who came to India in 1630 A.D., three years after the death of emperor Jahangir, have written that Salim's mother was one of the concubines of the harem of Akbar. Since Akbar had so many wives in his harem, it is definite that all of them were not his legally married wives. It is also to be noted that Islam allows only four legal wives at to a man. And possibly Salim's mother was not one of those four ladies who could be strictly called as Akbar's legal wife according to Islamic law. And this is why the contemporary historian have not mentioned the name of Salim's mother. It is noteworthy that even after the death of Jahangir this fact remained in the memory of the people of India and that is why De Laet says that she was one of the concubines of Akbar.

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1. Foster, W., pp. 16-18
2. De Laet Tr. (H.and B.), pp. 147-8.

Taking into consideration all these points discussed above, we come to the conclusion that it is wrong to give the opinion that Bihari Mal's daughter was Salim's mother and her title was Maryam Zamani. An investigation into the correct identity will lead to an exaustive research. Certainly she was the unknown lady, who has not been declared. Here it is noteworthy that the lady who suckled prince Salim and the other lady who brought up Salim, mentioned in contemporary sources, but why the name identity of the mother of Salim is not mentioned in any contemporary sources, even by Abul Fazl. How we can believe on the accounts of later historians, which is clearly an imagine. In other word we can say that the prince was the son of Shaikh's blessing. According to Jahangir the Shaikh's daughter suckled him and his early bringing up was held by Shaikh's daughter-in-law. Here this point is to be noted that why Jahangir does not mention the name of that lady who gave birth to him. The silence of all the contemporary historian creates a confusion to declare her name.

An event preceding Salim's birth

In Tuzuk Jahangir tells us that while he was in his mother's womb and time had come when he was expected to make movements, he was not doing it. It was Friday and Akbar was engaged in hunting with cheetas. When this news reached him that there was no sign of movement of the child in the womb of his mother, Akbar took a vow never to hunt with cheetas on

Friday for safety of his son and he kept his vow throughout his life.[1]

Birth and Events Following it

We have already discussed the date of his birth.[2] According to Tuzuk Prince Salim was born in the house of Shaikh Salim. Jahangir obviously says that when his mother became pregnant, she was transferred with all his lady appartment to the house of the Shaikh at Sikari and then the prince was born.[3] According to Nizamuddin Ahmad Akbar was not present at Sikari at that time, when the good news of birth of the prince reached him and he celebrated the occasion in splendid manner in Agra.[4] These facts find no coroboration in memoirs of Jahangir. It is very much surprising that Akbar who was so greatly anxious for an heir did not rush to Fathpur to see the new born child. But in this connection we are enlightened by Abul Fazl, who says that it was proper that as soon as the father received such a joyful tidings that he would go with all possible speed to see the infant. But say Abul Fazl 'as the common people of this country have an old custom according to which whenever God, after a long expectation, has bestowed an auspicious chil, he be not produce before the honoured father till after a long

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp.45-46.
2. Supra, pp. 1-2.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.) I, p.2, See also Nizamuddin (E.and D.),V, p. 334.
4. Nizamuddin (E.and D.), V, p. 334.

delay, H.M. respected the feeling and put off his visit to Fathpur."[1] This matter has been somewhat erroneously described by an author,[2] who says that according to a custom a father was not to see his new born child, so Akbar did not proceed to Sikari as soon as he received the joyful news. But this practice was not common among the Muhammadans. Abul Fazl has given a clear idea about it that it was an Indian custom and it was observed in such a particular case when a son was obtained after much expectations, his father should not see him immediately.[3]

Nursing and Upbringing of Salim

Jahangir says in Tuzuk that after his birth the first lady who gave him her milk, not more than a day was mother of Shaikh Bayazid, Shaikh Salim's daughter-in-law.[4] After that it was Shaikh Salim's daughter who was the mother of Qutb-ud-din Khan Koka, was virtually the foster mother of Salim. About her Jahangir says that, the mother of Qutb-ud-din had given him her milk and was a mother to him or even kinder than his own kind mother and in whose lap he was brought up from infancy.[5] Jahangir further says that after her death (which took place in first year of Jahangir's reign) "I placed the feet of her corpse on my shoulders and carried her a part of the way. Though extreme grief and sorrow I had no inclination for some days to eat, and I did not change my cloths."[6]

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1. A.N. (Beveridge), II, p. 505.
2. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 5.
3. A.N. (Beveridge), II, p. 505.
4. Tuzuk (R.and B.) I, p.
5. Ibid, pp. 84-85.
6. Ibid, p. 85.

Akbar's Pilgrimage to Ajmer

We find in Tuzuk that Akbar after the birth of Prince Salim went on a pilgrimage on foot to the shrine of Khwaja Muinud-din Sanjari chisti, from Fathpur to Ajmer, a distance of 120 kos. It was in fulfilment of his v$w, which he had taken before the prince's birth.[1] Though the date on which the holy journey was started is not mentioned by Jahangir, but it was 12 Aban 977 A.H. (20 January 1570)[2] according to Abul Fazil and Nizamuddin Ahmad. Further Abul Fazl says that the following[3] is the list of the stages of the journey from Agra -

i) Mandhakar
ii) Fathpur
iii) Passed Khanwa and halted near June
iv) Karoha
v) Basawar
vi) Toda
vii) Kalawali
viii) Kharandi
ix) Disa
x) Passed Hansmahal and encamped near Phulmahal
xi) Sanganir
xii) Near Neota
xiii) Jhok near M'uizzabad[4]
xiv) Sakhun
xv) Kajbil
xvi) The holy dwelling of the Khwaja in Ajmer.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.) I, p. 152. See also A.N. (Beveridge) II,p.510.
2. A.N.(Beveridge), II, p.510, Nizamuddin (E.and D.) V, p.334, both say that Akbar started this journey from Agra. In this connection we learn from Abul Fazl that Akbar used to cover 10 to 12 kos on their pious journey, while Nizamuddin says 7 to 8 kos.
3. A.N. (Beveridge) II, p. 510-11, Ajmer is 228 mile west of Agra.
4. Ain, Jarret, II, p. 273.

Then Akbar went to the straightway to the shrine and placed his forehead of sincerity on that spot and implored help. He spent several days there in devotion and distributed gift, among the attendant of the shrine.[1]

Sikari named as Fathpur

As prince Salim's birth took place at Sikari Akbar considered that place very lucky for himself and so he made it his capital. In the course of fourteen or fifteen years that hill full of wild beasts, became a city containing all kinds of gardens and buildings and lofty, elegant edifices and pleasant places, attractive to heart. And further Jahangir says that this place was named Fathpur by Akbar after his conquest over Gujarat.[2] But Abul Fazl and Nizamuddin both say that after the birth of his sons at Sikari, Akbar gave the name of Fathpur to Sikari. Akbar issued an order to irrect lofty building for the special use of the emperor. All the grades of officer and the public made dwellings for themselves and a high wall of stone and lime was placed round the place. In a short time there was a great city and there were charming fine palaces. Benevolent institutions, such as Khanqas, schools, and baths were also constructed, and a large stone Bazar was built. Beautiful gardens were made in the vicinity. A great place of concourse was brought together such as might move the

1. A.N. (Beveridge), II, p. 511.
2. Tuzuk (R. and B.), I, p. 2.

envy of the world. Then Akbar named it Fathabad, and this by common use was made into Fathpur.[1] In this connection Jahangir's statement that Sikari was named Fathpur after the conquest of Gujarat does not seem to be convincing. For a conqueror like Akbar the conquest of a particular province like Gujarat was not so very important. The birth of his son which brought him the highest fulfilment of his desire was for more valuable achievement for him. So the conquest of Gujarat which took place about 4 years after the birth of Salim when already the second son of Akbar was born at Sikari and the construction of the city of Sikari was going on. It seems that it is just coincidence that when Jahangir was 4 years old and Murad was three years and Sikari was taking the shape of magnificent city, the name Fathpur was officially declared as the name of Sikari. So it will be somewhat misleading to hold that on the occasion of the victory of Gujarat Sikari was named Fathabad as it is generally infurred from the references to this fact giving by two eminent authors.[2]

Childhood

Fatherly Love

Since Salim was born by blessing of the saint Shaikh Salim, Akbar out of love for Salim and respect for the saint

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1. A.N. (Beveridge), II, pp. 530-31.
   Nizamuddin (E.and D.), V, pp. 332-33.
   See also De Laet tr. (H.and B.), p. 43-44. De Laet supports Abul Fazl that he was formerly called Sykary, i.e., a net, but on in return from an expedition, and after the birth of the son who afterwards became emperor, Akhbar wished to be called to be Fetihpore, i,e., the wish fulfilled."
2. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 12.
   S.Roy, B.V.B. VII, p. 125.

used to call the former, Shaikh Baba. In this respect Jahangir says "I never beard my father, whether in his cups or in his sober movements, call me Muhammad Salim or Sultan Salim, but always Shaikhu Baba."[1] This statement of Jahangir about his father's love supports the fact that Akbar had great love and care for the Prince.

An episode relating to Shaikh Salim

Shaikh Salim had made a prediction that the day prince Salim would repeat something having learnt it from some teacher or some other persons, that very day Shaikh Salim would depart from this earth. In his own language 'This will be a sin of my union with God.'[2] So Akbar gave strict-orders to all attendants of the prince that no one should teach him anything in prose or verse.[3] But when he was two years and seven months old, a woman who lived in Akbar's palace under chastity, 'she used to burn rue constantly in order to avert the evil eye' and used to utter this couplet -

"O God, open the rosebud of hope
Display a flower from the everlasting garden."[4]

This lady, who lived on the alms and charities, regardless the Akbar's order taught Salim the above mentioned couplet. So one day Salim repeated this couplet before Shaikh Salim, the Shaikh

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 2
2. Ibid, II, p. 70.
3. Ibid, p. 71
4. Ibid.

immediately informed Akbar about this event and that every night the Shaikh developed fever and the subsequent event are being given in the words of Jahangir himself: "When His Majesty came, he said: 'the promise time of union has come, and I must took leave of you'. Taking his turban from his head, he placed it on mine, and said: 'we have made Sultan Salim our successor, and have made him over to God, the protector and preserver.' Gradually his weakness increased, and the signs of passing away became more evident, all he attained union with the 'True Beloved'."[1] Thus, we see that in very early age of his life prince Salim was declared Akbar's (His father) successor by the blessing of the said Shaikh while Akbar was very anxious for his successor. Therefore Akbar would have accepted the proposal of Shaikh and even after the pressure of his faithful officer like Mansingh and Mirza Aziz Koka he declared Prince Salim his successor before his death.[2]

His brothers and sisters

Shahzada Khanam

Jahangir say that three months after his birth, one of the royal concubines gave birth his sister, who was named Shahzada Khanam. The infant was given to Maryam Makani (Akbar's mother) for her bringing up.[3] At though Jahangir does not give the date of her birth. But we find in Abul Fazl's Akbarnama

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 71.
2. Infra, p.87
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.) I, p. 34.

that she was born 11 Jumad-ul-akhir (Sunday, Nov. 21, 1569).[1] David Prince[2] say that she was daughter of Salima Sultan Begam. But Jahangir clearly says that she was daughter of one of the royal concubines, while Salima Sultan Begam was legally married wife of Akbar.

Murad

Jahangir further says that after the birth of his sister Shahzada Khanam, a royal concubine gave birth to a son in the Shaikh Salim's house, who was named Murad. As his birth took place in the hill country of Fathpur, he was nicknamed Pahari.[3] Abul Fazl[4] and Nizamuddin[5] both give the date of birth of Murad, 3rd Muharram 978 A.H., which works out to June 7, 1570. Further we learn from Jahangir that he did not live long. In the 30th year of his age he was sent by Akbar to conquer to the Deccan in the neighbourhood of Jalanpur, in the province of Berar, he took to excessive drinking through associating with unworthy person and died in his 30th year. About his personal appearance Jahangir say that he was fresh coloured, then in body and tall of stature. Dignity and authority were evident in his movements, and manliness and bravery manifested themselves in his way.[6]

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1. A.N. (Beveridge), II, p. 509.
2. David, Price, p. 46.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 34.
4. A.N. (Beveridge), II, p. 514.
5. Nizamuddin (E.and D.), V, p. 335.
6. Tuzuk (R. and B.), I, p. 34.

Danial

Regarding his brother Danial Jahangir says that he was born on the night of 10th Jumada-l-awwal, AH 979, (Sept. 17, 1572), to one of the concubines at Ajmer in the house of Shaikh Danial, one of the attendant of Shaikh Muinu-d-din chisti, so this child was named Danial. After the death of his elder brother Murad he was sent to conquer the Deccan and was followed by Akbar himself. After the conquest of Asir Akbar returned to Agra and gave the province to Danial and left him in possession of that territory. Danial took to improper ways, drinking like his brother Shah Murad, and soon died of excessive drinking, in 33rd year of his age.[1] About his death Jahangir says that "his death occurred in a peculiar way. He was very fond of guns and of hunting with the gun. He had named one of his guns yaka ujanaza, the same as their bier' and himself composed this couplet and had it engraved on the gun -

> "From the joy of the chose with thee, life is fresh and new; To everyone whom thy dart strikes is the same as his bier."[2]

Further we learn from Jahangir that when his drinking of wine was carried to excess, and the circumstances was reported to his father (Akbar), farmans of approach were sent to the Khan Khanan. The Khan Khanan forbade him and placed cautious people to work after him properly. When the road to bring wine was completely closed he began to weep and to importune some of his

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 34-5. A.N. (Beveridge), II, p. 542, gives date, Sept. 9, 1572.
2. Ibid, p. 35.

servants and said to bring wine by any way. He ordered his attendant, Murshid Kuli Khan, Muskateer to bring some wine, for him, pouring into his yaka-u-janaza. The said Khan, in hope of favour followed his order and poured doubled distilled spirit into the gun, which had long been nourished on gunpowder and the scent thereof, and brought it. The rust of the iron was disolved by the strength of the spirit and mingled with it, and the Prince no sooner drank it and fell down.[1]

About appearance of Danial Jahangir says that he was of pleasing, figure of exceedingly agreeble manners and appearance, he was very fond of elephants and horses. It was impossible for him to hear of anyone as having a good horse or elephant and not take it from him. He was fond of Hindi songs and would occasionally compose verses with correct idiom in the language of the people of India, which were not bad.

Shaikaru-nisa Begum and Aram Banu Begam; After the birth of Danial, Bibi Danlat Shad gave birth to a girl, who was named Shakaru-n-nisa Begam.[3] She was brought in the skirt of Akbar's care and turned out very well. She was of good disposition and naturally compassionate towards all people. From infancy and childhood she had been extremely fond of his brother Prince Salim. Jahangir has clearly mentioned that there could be few such relationship between brother and sister.[4] We also learn an episode

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 36.
2. The M.S.S. have Shankar-nisar 'She lived into Shahjahan's reign.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 34.
4. Ibid.

in his memoirs "the first time when, according to the custom of pressing the breast of a child and a drop of milk is perceptible, they pressed my sister's breast and milk appeared, my reverâd father said to me! "Baba! drink this milk, that in truth this sister may be to thee as a mother'. God, the knower of secrets, knows that from that day forward after I drank that drop of milk, I have felt love for my sister such as children have for their mother."[1] The above fact clearly say that according to custom the breast of the new born child was pressed and milk came out. Akbar made Jahangir drink that milk which came out of the breast of that infant girl, who was prince Salaim's sister and Akbar said that sister would be like his mother for Salim and afterwards he developed that kind of regard for that younger sister which one has for own's mother.

Aram Banu Begam

Sometime after the birth of Shakaru-n-nisa Begam, Bibi Daulat Shad gave birth to another girl, and the infant girl was named Aram Banu Begam.[2] This child when grew up, was fond of exitement and from the description about her given by Jahangir we understand that she was somewhat indisciplined. But Akbar was very fond of her and urnestly requested Salim to "be affectionate to her and pass over her title impolitenesses and inpudences."[3] The facts relating to these two half sisters as given by Jahangir present before us a pleasing picture of his childhood.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 34.
2. Ibid, pp. 34-35.
3. Ibid, p. 22.

Early Education

About his circumcision and beginning of his education, we find little fact in Tuzuk. Though details are found on this point are found in other sources. Only this much we learn that Jahangir referring one of his officer says "I knew him in my childhood when I read the 'Fourty sayings with Shaikh Abdu-n-Nabi, whose history is given in Akbarnama."[1] After that we find that he was given lesson on fencing by Murtaza Khan[2] and his passion for hunting since his boyhood is also noticed in his memoirs.[3] But in other sources it is clearly mentioned that according to Mughal custom that a prince should be placed under the charge of tutors as soon as he was four years four months, and four days old (according to Muslim calender), Prince Salim was put under the tutorship of Mirkalan Harvi on Nov. 18, 1573.[4] The prince learnt to reciting the name of God and the creed, and the alphabet. But next year he had the misfortune to lost the old preceptor for ever.[5] Then Shaikh Ahmad, was the prince's foster father, buoyant, cheerfulman, a gallant captain and a profound scholar, was appointed afalid or guardian and guided Salim's education until his death in 1577.[6] Among the subsequent 'guardians' of the prince may be mentioned

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 22.
2. Ibid, pp. 105-6.
3. Ibid, p. 83.
4. A.N. (Beveridge), III, pp. 105-6. Nizamuddin (E.and D.),V, p. 370, Ain, Blochman, p. 540.
5. A.N. (Beveridge), III, p. 299, M.U., (Beveridge), I, p. 170.
6. A.N. (Beveridge), III, p.107, Badauni (Lowe), II, 173, Haig III, 211-12. Nizamuddin (E.and D.), V, p.370, Ain, Blochman, 540.

Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan Atga, a high nobleman, who received the lofty title of Beglarbegi[1] but the man, who next to Akbar, who have cast the most profound influence on the prince's mind was Abdur Rahim Khan, who was appointed guardian to the Prince in 1582 A.D. It was the most impressionable period of the prince's life. The royal ward read a great deal of Persian literature and acquired a fair command over persian literature. He learnt Turkish.[2] The above facts about the early education of prince Salim is also referred by an author in his work on Jahangir.[3]

The Incidents Before the Prince's Accession

Unloyalty of Akbar's Officers

Jahangir says in his memoirs that when he was prince, before his revered father's illness and during that period, the ministers and high nobles were thinking in the light of their own interest to make the use of the situation and these type of things would have led the state to ruin. But it was Miran Sadr Jahan who was always loyal to the prince and continued the precepter of religious matters (Khalifa) of the prince from his childhood.[4] The kind of observation on the part of prince Salim, suggests that there were few well-wisher in the court for Akbar and his descendants.

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1. A.N.(Beveridge), III, 401. Nizamuddin (E.and D.), V, p. 413. Badauni (Lowe), II, p. 273.
2. A.N. (Beveridge), III, p. 583, Iqbalnama, 287-8, Ain, Blochman, 334-9. Beal, Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 11. See also Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 109-10, Jahangir clearly says that 'I grew up in hindustan, I am not ignorant of Turki speech and writing'. He add four sections in Babarnama and also wrote the Turkish character.
3. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, pp. 13, 18,19, 20.
4. Tuzuk (R. and B.), I, p. 22.

Murder of Abul Fazl

About Abul Fazl what Jahangir says that Abul Fazl by his learning and winning manners and other attractive qualities had won the confidence of Akbar. And he was trying to embitter Salim's relation with Akbar. It is very much surprising as we learn from Jahangir that he was publicly and privately speaking against the prince. This kind of open hostility on the part of Abul Fazl towards Salim cannot be reasonably explained. Now we find that Jahangir clearly gives the facts as to how he got Abul Fazl murdered while Abul Fazl was coming from the Deccan being summoned by Akbar to the court, the prince got him murdered with the help of rebel Raja Bir Singh Deo Bundela. The route of Abul Fazl was through the territory of the said Raja. Further we learn that the head of Abul Fazl was sent to the prince at Allahabad.[1] Though Jahangir has given the facts quite frankly, he has not explain the reasons for that kind of hostile behaviour on the part of Abul Fazl towards him.

Differences of Prince Salim with his Father

The historians are almost unanimous in their opinion that the prince revolted against his father. But if we see what Jahangir says about his differences with his father we find him saying "short-sighted men had urged him in Allahabad to revolt

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 24-25, see also Asad Beg (E.and D.), VI, pp. 156-160. Takmil, A.N. (E.and D.) IV, p.107, Maasir-i-Jahangiri (E.andD.)VI, 442-4, Khulsat-ut-Tawarikh (Delhi ed.), pp. 433-4. M.U. (Beveridge), I, 123-4; Akbar is said to have uttered the following verse in grief -

"When our Shaikh came towards us with eager longing,
A desire kissing our feet lost him, head and foot."
Akbar said, at the prince's aimed at kingship,
'he should have killed and spared his friend.'

against my father, their words were extremely unacceptable and disproved by me. I know what sort of endurance a kingdom would have, the foundations of which were laid on hostility to a father, and was not moved by the evil councels of such unworthy men, but acting according to the dictates of reason and knowledge I waited on my father, guide, myquibla and visible God, and a result of this good purpose it went well with me.'[1] On the basis of the facts noticed in Tuzuk as giving above, we can reach reasonably the conclusion that in the last days of Akbar the ministers and the nobles of the court were, for reasons unknown, not in the favour of the accession of the prince and there was also a group of people who had instigated Salim to go against his father and to declare himself the sovereign. But the prince had fully realised that it would be a wrong policy to act according to such advice and he established cordial relation with his father.

In most of the authors on Jahangir had established a view that the prince revolted against his father. But scrutiny of the available facts may lead to a different interpretation.

Akbar Leaves for Deccan and Salim's Activities

After death of prince Murad in the Deccan, Akbar appointed his youngest son prince Danial to conquer the Deccan and followed the prince himself. In the meantime having seen the unloyalty of some officers in absence of his father (emperor), Prince Salim

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1. Tuzuk R.and B.), I, p. 65.

who was appointed to Mewar campaign, retired to Allahabad, and decided to check the selfish group. He recalled his forces from the Mewar campaign, he mediated the seizer of the war like frontier province of the Punjab and enriched himself by confiscating a crore's worth of cash and property left by Shahbaz Khan Kambu who had died just then.[1] After that he moved towards Agra to defend the treasury of the Agra Fort. But finding the commondant Quliz Khan loyal, he retired to Allahabad and established an independent court and appointed his own officers to the province of Bihar and Jaunpore, Quatbuddin Khan former Khuba and Lalbeg respectively and Yatim Bahadur to Kalpi.[2]

Salim's desire to Pay his Respect to Akbar

But further we learn from Jahangir that his father returned in prosperity after the conquest of Asirgarh to Agra,[3] the Prince marched towards the court of Agra to pay his respects to his father. "When the prince wrote to request the honour of an audience, and proceeded as far as Etawa for the purpose, but here doubts were suggested to him by some ill inclined persons, and he feared to advance any further. His Majesty was no sooner made aware of this circumstance than he wrote to the prince, that 'if he were earnest in his wish to pay his respects, he ought to

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1. De Laet, tr. Lethbridge, p. 196, say that the treaure of exceeded a crore of rupees.
2. A.N. (Text), III, 831, (E.and D.) VI, 99; Mohamma Hadi, pp.8-9; Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh M.S.) 13(b), 14. Khafikhan, 218, 220-21. Also quoted by Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, pp. 42-44.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.) I, p. 35.

display his confidence by doing so alone, and dismiss his attendants to their jagirs, if on the contrary, suspicion withheld him, he had better to retire to Allahabad, there to re-assure his heart, and repair to court when he was able to do so with full trust and confidence." The prince, alarmed at this kind, yet disdainful communication, instantly despatched Mir Sadr-i-Jahan, who was the chief justiciary of the Imperial dominions, and His Majesty's agent with the prince, to his august father, charged with the most submissive apology, and referring the Mir's own observation in testimony of his sense of duty and allegiance. He then set out towards Allahabad, and meanwhile an Imperial Farman was issued, investing him with the government of Bengal and Orissa, and directing him to dispatch his officers to take possession of those two provinces. Raja Mansingh was at the same time, ordered to transfer the provinces, and to return to court."[1] Here it is noteworthy that when Akbar returned from the Deccan, the prince desired to pay his respects, but why he became confused and Akbar also suggested him in polite language to be confirm about his confusion. None of historians has mentioned this confusion, therefore, we reach to the conclusion what Jahangir say in Tuzuk about the disloyalty of the officers. If the prince would have revolted against his father, why he would have desired to pay his respect. It is also noteworthy that he was appointed to the bigger province of Bengal and Orissa on the duty of much responsibility to suppress the Afghan insurgents.

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1. [illegible] (E.and D.), VI, p. 105.

The Prince Salim Disobey the Imperial Farman

But at the time when an inssurrection was made against him by the nobles and the officers to place Khusru on the throne, he did not obey the Imperial farman to take changes of the provinces of Bengal and Orissa. About the conspiracy Jahangir clearly says, "Inasmuch as during the life time of the late king an intention of joining in the sedition about a letter of some of the rebels and manifested itself in his mind (Khusru), and he knew that this had come to my knowledge, he placed no reliance on my kindness and affection. His mother while I was prince, in grief at his ways and behaviour and misconduct of her brother Madho Singh killed herself by swallowing opium."[1] This fact clearly tells us that Madho Singh and Khusru were agains the Prince Salim. Further we also learn from Jahangir about the disloyalty of Mirza Aziz Koka, who was supporting the claim of Khusru to the throne. Jahangir says about a letter of Mirza Aziz Koka to Ali Khan the ruler of Khan Desh. "I had had an impression that he had a particular enimity to the on Khusru's account, who was his son-in-law. From the discovery of this writing it became clear that he had never given up his innate treachery, and had adopted his unbecoming attitude towards my revered father."[2]

The above facts by Jahangir declare that the courtier had gone against the prince. In such situation his concious did not allow him to go away from the capital and he did not follow

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1. Tuzuk (R. and B.) I, pp. 56.

2. Ibid, p. 79.

the order of Akbar to take changes of the provinces of Bengal and Orissa and stationed himself in Allahabad in the neighbourhood of the capital from where he might strengthen his position. But it is to be noted that after murder of Abul Fazl, one of the most trusty servant of Akbar, he was presented before Akbar by Salima Sultan Begam. If he would have revolted against his father, why he came to Akbar and Akbar forgave him after such blunder and also received presents of 354 elephants and 1000 muhars from the prince. The prince was honoured with rich dresses, jewelled swords, a rare elephant and a turban just taken off the Emperor's head and was publicly proclaimed a fresh heir apparent.[1]

Again Prince Salim Deputed to Mewar campaign

Having honoured the prince, Akbar appointed him again to resume the Mewar campaign to uproot the rebellions Rana. But the inclinations of the young prince were not heartily engaged in the enterprise and he reported that his troops were not prepared, and extravagant demands, both for increased forces and treasures. Further he intimated his wish, that if his exorbitant requests were not compiled with, he might be allowed to return to his jagir. Akbar, accordingly, guessing the object of his conduct, directed him to return to Allahabad, and to present himself at court whenever afterwards he might do so. The prince accepted the permission, and crossing the Jamuna near Mathura turned towards Allahabad.[2]

1. Takmil A.N., Von Neer, II, p. 411; Khafi Khan, 225.
2. Takmil Akbarnama, (E.and D.), VI, p. 110.

Akbar decided to reach Allahabad

The two sons, Murad and Danial were died. The third son was also in deep grief of uncertain death, of his first wife Shah Begam. About her death Jahangir says "In consequence of her death, from the attachment I had for her, I passed someday without any kind of pleasure in life or existence, and for four days, which amount to 32 watches, I took nothing in food or drink."[1] In such situation, while the prince was not taking care of his health and life and was engaged himself in execessive drink and opium and he made his temper irritable and tynanical. Although Akbar had sent a letter of condolence excessive kindness and a robe of honour and the auspicious turban tied just as he had taken it off his head.[2] Then Akbar in anger decided to go to Allahabad and bring the prince to the court. But due to the illness of his mother Maryam Makani, the emperor returned to the court from the way. But on the Jesuit accounts have given a opposite facts that Akbar led an expedition to suppress the rebellions attitude of the prince. But it is to be noted that none of the persian historians have supported the jesuit accounts.[3] Because the prince was only successor of the emperor; so he decided to bring the prince in his presence.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), p.56.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid, p. 113.
   Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, is agreed with the Jesuits accounts, which does not seem correct. Certainly Akbar was going to check the bad habits of drinking of the prince.

The Prince return to the Agra Court

When the prince got the news of death of his revered graved mother, leaving Allahabad incharge of Sharif Khan, he set out with his son Parvez and some of his principal followers, and arrived at Agra on November 9, 1604. He was received in open court with all affection and honour. He presented two gold Mohars, adiomond worth a lakh of rupees, and 400 elephants. But as soon as the court broke up, Akbar took the prince into the private appartments and severely reprimanded him. Wine and bad company had deranged his mind. He must be placed in confinement. He must be handed over to physicians. The threats were actually carried out. For full ten days the prince was imprisoned in a room and placed under the charge of Raja Shalivahan, a noted court physician, Arjun, a barber, and Rup Khwass; another servant. For a while he was deprived of opium and wine. His personal adherents were arrested, though Raja Basu, who had left across the Jamuna, contrived to escape'.[1] But the authorities[2] on Jahangir differ as to the exact number of the days of Salim's confinement. De Laet gives two days, he say that, Salim was received a public gallery, but as he prostrated himself, Akbar

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1. Quoted by Beni Prasad, 'History of Jahangir', p. 62.
2. De Laet (tr. Lethbridge), p. 199. Maasir-i-Jahangiri says that Salim was deprived of opium for full tend days. Muhammad Hadi, Inayatullah, and Kamgar ten days, and Anaful Akbar, twelve days, thus the best authorities gives ten days. V.A. Smith, Akbar the Great Mughal, p. 319, accepts the version of Delaet, who appears to him in perfect harmony with Akbar's character.

seized him by the hand, drew him into an inner apartment, slapped him several times on the face and bitterly reproached him on his treason and on his cowardic in submitting when he could command at call the services of 70,000 horsemen. He also says that after twenty four hours of confinement he received a supply of opium from Akbar's own hand. After that the prince was set at liberty and raised to higher honour and dignities. And Akbar was treating with him as if nothing had passed between them.[1]

Further we get information from Beni Prasad that Mirza Aziz Koka and Mansingh failed to obtain Akbar's consent to supersession of the prince, they decided to arrest the prince. 'But the plot was betrayed by Mir Zia-ul-Mulk Qazwini just as the prince was on the point of disembarking from the boat at the foot of the tower. He returned to his lodging and refused to stir abroad.[1] 'Salim's accession was secure, but the rumours that filled the air had seriously disconcerted him. He had been informed that Khusru was already installed and that the big guns of the fort had been pointed against his residence. He lay in hourly danger of his life and must fly instantly. He made all preparations to escape by the Jamuna to Allahabad, and was on the point of taking boat when Ruknuddin Rohilla pressed him to await the result of the all important conference. At this juncture arrived Mirza Sharif with the news that the plot had been baffled, and that Murtaza Khan was on his way to join him at the head of the Sayyids of Barha'.[2] We further get information

1. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, pp. 65-66.
2. Ibid, pp. 66-67.

from the memorable day, they beat their drums in exultation, but the music was stopped due to the emperor's critical condition.[1]

After scrutiny of the above facts we reach to the point that Jahangir's accounts about his loyalty to his father is correct. Except we have mentioned all the facts used by all the contemporary and modern historians, the behaviour of the prince was not against the emperor anywhere and he always took permission of his father for his further step. He never revolted against his father because even after the murder of Abul Fazl he was pardomed by Akbar. It seems, in earlier Akbar was not aquainted about the conspiracy of the countiers against the prince, but later on he became aquainted, he increased the rank and dignities of the prince. It is to be noted that even after the murder of Abul Fazl and his disobedience to take charges of the provinces of Bengal and Orissa he was declared heir apparent of Akbar. It is misunderstanding of the historians to blame Salim for his revolt against his father. His activities while Akbar in was in the Deccan, was to check the disloyalty and selfish of the unloyal courtiers. The above mentioned conspiracy of Raja Mansingh and Mirza Aziz Koka, to supersede the prince are seen till the last day of Akbar.

Another point raised by the historians that to enthrone himself, Salim revolted against his father. But it seems they are not aquainted about the fact that the prince was declared heir apparent (successor) of Akbar by his God father Shaikh

1. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 67.

Salim, while he was merely two years and seven months old.[1] It is surprising that how historians have presented the view that the prince revolted against his father to enthrone himself, while Akbar had much love for him. How Akbar could not consider the desire of the venerated Shaikh Salim at the time of his death (Shaikh Salim). If we check the condition of Akbar's death, who died on 16th October 1605, the Bundi sources inform us "Akbar suggested to poison Mansingh, but himself swallowed by mistake the pills, he had intended for his victim. The motive for the act was Man Singh's attempts to disturb the time of succession.[2]

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1. Supra, p. 37
2. Tod James, I, p. 279, and III, p. 385; De Laet (tr. H.and B.) tells the same story but he mentions Mirza Ghazi, instead of Raja Man Singh, same story with slight variation, Terry, pp. 408-9, Herbert p.72, Manuchi (Irvine) IV, p. 420.

Chapter 3

A C C E S S I O N

Coronation

In the 38th year of his age Prince Salim ascended the Imperial Throne, on Thursday, Oct. 24, 1605, in the capital of Agra.[1] He took the title of 'Nuruddin Jahangir Padshah.[2] Expressing the reason of this title he says that "since the business of king is controlling the world, hin he should take the name of Jahangir (Master of the World)." As regards the other part of the title Nuruddin, he says that when he was prince, he used to hear from Indian sages that after the expiry of emperor Akbar, one named, Nuruddin would be "administrator of the affairs of the state."[3] He signalized his accession by an extensive issue of new coins and release of prisioners.[4]

Pomp and Show

Though Jahangir has not recorded the festivities on the occasion of his coronation. But he indicates that his coronation was held admidst great pomp and splendour. Jahangir says, "It would not be good to give all the versified

1. Tuzuk (R and B) I, p. 1, 20th Jumadasani 1014 AH. See Padshahnama, p. 69 he was 37 years 3 months by lunar calender. But (E. and D.) and all the M.S.S. have 8th Jumadasani as the date of his accession, which is wrong because Akbar did not die before 13th Jumada-s-sani. Ain (Blochman), 454 n.3 says he has not completed 38 but it was starting of 38th year. See B.H.V. Abdur Rashid, p. 175, 3 Nov. (in New style).
2. Tuzuk (R. and B.) I, pp. 2-3.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid, p. 10.

chronograms which were made for my accession. I, therefore, content myself with one which Maktub Khan, the superintendent of library and picture gallery and one of my old servants, composed" -

> "the second lord of conjuction Shahinshah Jahangir, with justice lord of and equity sat on the throne of happiness, prosperity, God, Fortune, Wealth, Dignity, and Victory, with loins gird in his service, stood rejoicing before him. It became the date of accession when prosperity placed his head at the feet of the Sahib Quiran-i-Sani."1

But David price has written in detail about the festivities held on the occasion of his coronation. D. Price says, "For forty days and forty nights I caused the nuggaurah, or great imperial state drum, to strike up, without ceasing, the strains of joy and triumph, and for an extent of fifty zeribs around my throne, the ground was spread by my directions with the most costly brocades and gold embroidered carpets. Censors of gold and silver were disposed in different directions for the purpose of burning odoriferous drugs, and nearly three thousand camphorated wax lights, three cubits in length, in branches of gold and silver perfumed with ambergis, illuminated the scene from night till morning. Numbers of blooming youths, beautiful as young Joseph in the pavilions of Egypt, clad in dresses of the most costly materials, woven in silk and gold, with zones andamulets sparkling with the lusture of the diamond, the emerold, the sapphire, and the ruby, awaited my commands,

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1. Ibid, p. 12.

rank after rank, and in attitude most respectful. And finally, the Ameirs of the empire, from the captain of five hundred to the commander of five thousand horse, and to the number of nine individuals, covered from head to foot in gold and jewels, and shoulder to shoulder, stood round in brilliant array, also waiting for the commands of their sovereign. For forty days and forty nights did I keep open to the world these scenes of festivity and splendour, furnishing all together an example of imperial magnificence seldom paralleled in this stage of earthly existence."[1] On the basis of the above facts we can infur that his accession was celebrated with due pomp and splendour. Though Jahangir has not described the festivities performed on this occasion according to [illegible], except the verse of Maktub Khan, but he indicates about the festivities. But in David Price's Memoirs we find the celebration of festivities and splendour.

Agra

Since the coronation took place in Agra, he thinks it befitting to give some description of Agra. Jahangir says that Agra is one of the grand old cities of Hindustan,

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1. David, Price, pp. 4-5.

situated on the banks of Jamuna. The city had an old fort[1] on the bank of Jamuna, which Akbar threw down and built a fort of red-cut-stone. The construction of the fort was completed in the period of fifteen or sixteen years. It has four galis and two sallyports. The expenses incurred for the building of the fort was an amount of 35 lakhs of rupees. Regarding the artitecturic grandure of this fort he says that those who have travelled over the whole world would not find a similar such fort anywhere else. The habitable parts of the city extended on the both side of the river Jamuna. On the west side, its circumference was seven kos and breadth was one kos, where greater population resided. On the east side of the river the circumference was two and half kos, its length one kos and breadth half kos. But in the number of its building it was equal to several cities of Irqn, Khurasan, and Transoxiana put together. So many persons had erected building of three or four storeys in it. The mass of the people was so great that it was difficult to move about in the lanes and

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1. Tuzuk (R. and B.) I, pp. 3-4, Before the rule of the Lodi Afghans Agra was a great and populous place and had a castle described by Masud b-'sad, in the Ode in praise of Mahmud, son of Sultan Ibrahim, son of Masud, son of Sultan Mahmad of carnion the capture of fort - "The fort of Agra appeared in the midst of the dust like a mountain and its battlements like peaks."

~~fikexaxmountain, and its battlements like~~
When Sikandar Lodi designed to take Gwalior became Agra from Delhi, and settled down there. From that date the population and prosperity of Agra increased and it became the capital of the Sultans of Delhi.

bafars. It was on the boundry of the second climate. On its east was the province of Qanauj, on the west Nagaur; on the north, Sambhal; and on the south Chanderi.

Regarding the climate of Agra Jahangir says that the air was warm and dry; according to physician it dispressed the spirits and induces weakness. It was unsuited to most temperaments, except to the phlegmatic and melancholy, which are safe from its bad effects. He presents the example that due to this reason the animals of this constitution and temperament, such as the elephant, the bufallo and others, thrive in its climate.[1]

New Arrangements

Soon after accession Jahangir made the officers and courtiers his supporters by granting of jagir and promotion. Some of those who were not on good terms, were either promoted or confirmed in their former posts, on the day of his accession Jahangir had forgiven their offences and determined to have no retribution for their past deeds. Jahangir obviously says that the loyalty of his father's servant had not yet become apparent, and certain faults and errors and unbecoming intensions were in their mind, they themselves became ashamed.[2] Among those who were pardoned and taken into his favour was

1. Tuzul (R. and B.), I, pp. 3-4; Delart (H. and B.) pp. 39,96.
2. Tuzuk (R. and B.) I, pp. 14-15.

Raja Mansingh. About Raja Mansingh Jahangir says that though he neither expected nor deserved any reward; but Jahangir adorned (dignified) him with a chartaq (vest without sleeves) as a robe of honour, a jewelled sword, and one of his own horses, and sent him off to his former province of Bengal which which was a place of 50,000 horse.[1]

Maha Singh and Abdur Rahman

It is noteworthy that Maha Singh grandson of Raja Man Singh, who was encouraging Prince Khusru to enthrone himself against Jahangir in the lifetime of Akbar[2] and Abdur Rahman son of Shaikh Abul Fazl were exalted to the rank of 2000 and were given robe of honour and horses.[3]

Abur Razzad Mamuri

Jahangir mentions some other officers also, who had sided with Akbar during the period of discord between the former and himself. He says about Abdur Razzaq Mamuri that though he had without any cause had left the services of Jahangir while he was prince and had gone to the side of Akbar, was confirmed in his former post of Bakhshi and was honoured with a dress of honour.

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1. ~~Ibid~~, pp. ~~15-16~~. J. Tuzuk (R. and B.), I pp. 15-16
2. Ibid, pp. 55-56.
3. Ibid, p. 17.

Aminu-d-daullah

Similar is the case of Aminu-d-daulah, who had betrayed him but he was also confirmed in his former post of Atish-i-Begi (Head of Artillery).[1]

Khusru

It is to be noted that his eldest son Khusru, who was rival for the throne was pardoned and granted a lakh of rupees so that he might built up for himself the house of Munim Khan, the former Khan Khanan, outside the fort.[2]

Saidkhan

Saidkhan who was one of the confidential nobles of Akbar and connected with him by marriage, was appointed to the administration and government of Punjab by Jahangir. He was of Mughal tribe, and his ancestors were in the service of Jahangir's forefathers. At the time when he was going to take charge of the province of Punjab, his eunuchs were oppressing and tyranizing over weak and the poor. When this news reached to Jahangir, he sent a message to him 'if after this any cruelly harshness should be observed on the part of his people, he would received punishment without favour."[3]

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1. Tuzuk (R. and B.) I, p. 13.
2. Ibid, p. 12.
3. Ibid, pp. 12-13.

According to David Prince Said Khan gave a bond that if his people were oppressive he would forfeit his head.[1]

Shaikh Farid Bokhan

Shaikh Farid Bokhan had been Mir Bakhshi during the Akbar's reign, was confirmed in the same post and was given a dress of honour, a jewelled sword, a jewelled inkstand and pen and in order to exalt him Jahngir regarded him as 'Shahibu-S-Saifwa-l-qalam' (Captain sword and Captain Pen). Later on he was promoted to the rank of 5000 from 4000 thousand.[2]

Muqim

Who had received the title of Wazir Khan and Viziership of the dominion during the end of the Akbar's reign was confirmed in the same post.[3] But he did not get any real power, and was soon superseded.[4]

Khwajaqi Fathu-Uah

He was given a dress of honour and was confirmed in his former post of Bakhshi.[5]

Asaf Khan

Asaf Khan was one of the confidential servants during Akbar's reign, and for a long time he had been confirmed in

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1. Ibid, p.12.
2. David Price, p. 16. See also Maasir-j-Jahangiri II,p.405.
3. Tuzuk (R. and B.) I, p. 13.
4. Ibid.
5. Maasir-i-Jahagiri, iii, 932.
6. Tuzul (R. and B.), I, p.13.

the post of Bakhshi and afterwords became 'diwan-ba-istiqlal' (Chancellor with full power); was increased from the rank of an Amir to that of Vizier, and was promoted to the command of 2,500 horse to that of 5,000. He was appointed guardian of Prince Parver in Mewar campaign. At the same time he was honoured with a robe of honour, jewelled waist sword, a horse and an elephant.[1]

Madho Singh Rawal Sal

Madho Singh, brother's son of Raja Mansingh, and Rawal Sal Darbari, confidential servants of Akbar, were always present at court and belonged to Shekhawat Rajputs, were given the rank of 3000.[2]

Those who were loyal to Jahangir since his princehood, some got appointment in the government and some got promotion to the higher rank.

Sharif Khan

Sharif Khan was in the service of Jahangir from his early years. When he was prince, he had given Sharif Khan the title of 'Khan' and when he left Allahabad to wait upon Akbar, presented the Khan with a drum and the tuman-togh (standard of yak tails), and promoted to the rank of 2500 and

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1. Tuzuk(R. and B.), I, p. 16.

2. Ibid. p. 18.

appointed to the province of Bihar with complete control over the province. The Khan reached and waited the newly emperor, fifteen days after his accession. The emperor was very pleased with him and had perfect confidence in his friendship, intelligence, learning and aquaintance with affairs. He was made Grand Vizier, and received the rank of 5,000, with 5,000 horse with lofty title of 'Amiru-l-umara'.[1] About this title Jahangir says, "to which no title of my servants is superior." Further Jahangir says, "Though his position might have warranted a higher rank, he himself represented to me that until some notable service on his part had become perceptible to me he would not accept a higher grade than that mentioned (5000)."[2] Further Jahangir considered the Amir-ul-Umra his guardian and protector. His father Abdu-s-Samad had been the best painter of his age and the Emperor Humayun had given him the title of 'Shirin-qalam' (sweetpen).[3]

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1. Tuzuk (R. and B.) I, p. 14, Sharif Khan had been sent by Akbar to recall Jahangir to his duty, but instead of coming back he stayed on. He did not accompany Jahangir when the latter went off the second time to wait upon his father. Probably he was arraid to do so. Jahangir appointed him to Bihar before he left Allahabad to visit his father for the second time. Jahangir says Sharif waited upon him fifteen days after his accession, and on 4th Rajab.

   See Padshahnama and Khafi Khan, have 20th Jumada, but price and pice's original wrongly say that Sharif arrived sixteen days after accession. 4th Rajab is fifteen days after 20 Jumada-l-akhir.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, p. 15.

Rukhu-d-din Afghan

Shaikh Ruknu-d-din Afghan, who had been in the service of Jahangir while he was prince, and had received the title of Sher Khan, was promoted from the grade of 500 to that of 3500. He was the head of his ʿilan and a very gallant man. He lost his arm by the sword in service of uzbegs.[1]

Viziership

The Viziership of the dominion was put into the commission between Mirza Khan Beg, who was given the title of Wazirul-Mulk while the emperor was a prince and Wazir Khan.[2]

Zaman Beg

Zaman Beg, son of Giyas Beg of Kabul, who had served prince Salim from his childhood from an ahdis to that of 500, was promoted to the rank of 1,500 with the title of Muhabat Khan and was confirmed as the bakhshis of the emperor's private establishment (Shagird-pasha).[3]

Lal Beg

One month after the accession, Lal Beg waited on Jahangir. He had been his confidential servant since his princehood and had received the title of Baj Bahadur. His

1. Ibid, 17, The R.A.S. and IOMSS have Umra instead of Uzvegs, which seems for Amar Singh.
2. Ibid, p. 20.
3. Tuzuk (R. and B.), I, p. 24, Iqbalnama, p. 4. Tod, Routledge, I, p. 282, wrongly makes him the son of sagar, the trecherous brother of the great Rana Pratap.

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father Nizam was librarian to Humayun. Jahangir promoted him from the rank of1500 to the rank of 4000 and bestowed him the governorship of Bihar with 2000 rupees.[1]

Bir Singh Deo

The promotion of blood stained Bir Singh Deo 'Bundela chief' was most disgraceful, who was the blind supporter of the emperor since his princehood, was promoted to the rank of 3000. Jahangir writes that the exciled his equals and relatives in valour, personal goodness, and simple heartedness.[2]

Ziau-ddin Qazwini

Ziau-ddin Qazwini had done service of the emperor in the days of his princehood, and had shown loyalty, was appointed the commander of 1000, and accountant of stables.[3]

Mirza Ali Akbar Shahi

Mirza Ali Akbar Shahi, one of the distinguished braves of his family was honoured and promoted to the rank of 4000, with the sarkar of Sambhal as his jagir.[4]

Quliz Khan

One of the old retainer of the state in the lifetime of Akbar, was appointed to the government of the province of

1. Tuzuk (R. and B.), I, p. 21.
2. Ibid, pp. 24-25.
3. Ibid, p. 25.
4. Ibid.

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Gujarat. To gratify him Jahangir gave him one lakh of rupees for his expenses.[1]

Mirza Shahrukh

Mirza Shahrukh, grandson of Mirza Sulaiman, the ruler of Badakhshan was nearly related to the emperor's family and held the rank of 5000 during the Akbar's reign. He was a true turk in disposition and simple minded. He had received his post and the subah of Malwa as his jagir from Akbar by dint of his ability and loyality. Jahangir promoted him to the rank of 7000 and confirmed him on his same post as former.[2]

Shaikh Bayazid

The descendants of Shaikh Salim chisti also received promotions and honour. Shaikh Bayazid grandson of Shaikh Salim chisti, whose mother had suckled the emperor after his birth, was promoted from the rank of 2000 to that of 3000.[3]

Islam Khan

Another grandson, Shaikh Allouddin styled Islam Khan, who accompanied the emperor from his childhood, and was one year younger than the emperor, was promoted to the rank of 2000. According to Jahangir he had grown up with him from his childhood. He was a brave and well dispositioned youth, and was

1. Tuzuk (R. and B.) I,p. 21.
2. Ibid, pp. 26-27.
3. Ibid, p. 32.

distinguished in every way above his family. He never took intoxicating drink and continued always loyal to him.[1]

Faridun

Faridun, son of Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, was one of the tribe of chagh , and was not devoid of manliness and courage. He was promoted from the rank of 1000 to that of 2000.[2]

Ali Yadgar Barha

Ali Yadgar Barha, sone of Sayyid Mahmud Khan Barha was evidently a brave youth. He continued one of the confidential man of Jahangir from his princehood who went with him to hunt and other places. He never took anything intoxicating and in expectation that he would attain high dignities. Jahangir granted him the rank of 3000 with the title of Saif Khan.[3]

Patar Das

A Rajput, Patar Das who was styled Ray Ranjan by Akbar was given the title of Raja Bikramajit by Jahangir. He was made 'Master of Ordinance' and an order was issued that he should always have light artillery in the arsenal, "50,000 light-guns and 3000 gun-carriage, ready, and in efficient order."[4]

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1. Tuzuk (R. and B.) I, pp. 31-32.
2. Ibid, p. 32.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid, pp. 21-22.

General Promotion

The feeling of jealousy and discontent may not provoked among the ~~[illegible]~~ courtiers, officers and the soldiers; Jahangir increased general pay by 20 per cent or more, even in some cases by "300 or 900 per cent." The remuneration of the crops of ahadis was raised by 50 per cent. All the grants of charity lands were confirmed and money was poured in beautiful generousity to the relief of poverty and misery. The attendants upon the female appartments of Akbar were advanced according to their position and relation from ten to twelve or ten to twenty. And Jahangir issued an order for Miran Sadr Jahan to produce daily deserving people for charity before the emperor.[1]

Thus, in the above facts we see how Jahangir strengthened his position soon after his accession. He made ~~[illegible]~~ agree both the Muslim and Hindu amirs and officers by grant of promotion and appointments. Having checked the situation of the time, he made the officers and amirs his supporters. He obviously says, "I informed the Bakhshis that whoever wished to have his birth place made into jagir should make representation to that effect, so that in accordance with the chingiz canor (tura) the state might be conveyed to him at altumgha and become his property, and he might be secured from apprehension of change."[2] But he did not allow such persons who tried

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1. Tuzuk (R. and B.), I, pp. 1, 10; Iqbalnama, 4-5. Maasir-i-Jahangiri, (Khuda Bakhsh MS), 33-5.

2. Tuzuk (R. and B.), I, p. 23.

to take profit of the situation. Barkhurdar, son of Abdur Rahman, who had come without a summon, was ordered back to his jagir. He clearly says it ill manner "to go to the king's banquet without a summon."[1]

First Id after Accession

Jahangir says that 'one of my accession days, a hundred of the Akbari and Jahangiri officers were promoted to higher rank and jagir'.[2] At the commencement of the first Ramzan (Id) after his accession, he went to Idgah and having performed the duty of thanks giving returned to his palace and spent a lakh of rupees in alms and charity. Dost Muhammad, afterwards Khwaja Jahan, Jamaluddin Husain Anju, Mirza Sadra Jahan, and Mir Muhammad Riza were appointed to divide the money amongst the faqirs and needy persons in different quarters of the city. He sent Rs. 5000 to the dervishes of Shaikh Muhammad Husain Zami and directed that each day one of the above mentioned officer should give 50,000 dams to faqirs.[3] In the above facts we see that Jahangir was a devoted Mohemadan and we also notice his generous feelings in this matters.

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1. Tuzuk (R. and B.), I, p. 21.
2. Ibid, p. 45.
3. Ibid, p. 46.

Chapter 4

JAHANGIR AS A RULER

Ideal of King

Referring the ideal of his father Jahangir says in his memoirs that "the good qualities of my revered father are beyond the limit of approval and the bounds of praise. Being such a mighty king he always remembered God and never placed his foot beyond the humadity and.... considered himself the lowest of created beings and never for one moment forgot God."[1]

> "Always, everywhere, with everyone, and in every circumstance, keep the eyes of thy heart secretly fixed on the Beloved."[2]

The professors of various faith had room in the broad expense of his incomparable sway. He had love for all classes and the followers of all creed and he followed the principle that he was shadow of God on the earth.[3] Jahangir followed his father and regarded sovereignty as a gift of God. "By the bondless favour of Allah, when one sideral hour of Thursday, Jumada-s-sani 20th AH 1014, had passed, I ascended the royal throne in the capital of Agra."[4] About his belief in God he says, "I trust that my life will be spent in the doing of God's will, and that not a breath of my life will pass without remembering Him."[5] In connection with Prince Khusru's

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 37.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. See also A.N. III (Beveridge), p. 6.
4. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 1.
5. Ibid, II, p. 1.

revolt and his partisans, he says, "they overlooked the trith that acts of sovereignty and world rule are not things to be arranged by the worthless endevours of a few defective intellects. The Just creater bestows then on him whom he considers fit for the glorious and exalted duty, and on such a person both he fit the robe of honour."[1] He had love for all his subjects, either they were the Hindus or Musalmans or christians and celebrated also their festivals like his father Akbar.

The Emperor was the centre of all powers, the supreme head of the earthly sphere, the forces of the whole activity. "He is the Khalifa of God. He rules by virtue of divine right. Sovereignty is a gift, and the king is Gods elect the robe of the kings hip fits him. He is supreme in his sphere. He is the head of the government, the commander of the state forces, the foundation of justice, the chief legislature and the final authority in the country.[2] We are partly agree with Ibn Hasan that Jahangir was anxious to follow Akbar and the ideals set by him. Jahangir ruled as an independent ruler. Though he followed some good ideals set by Akbar, but he introduced so many new ideals, which will be discussed further in this chapter.

The Emperor and the Court

Jahangir says in his memoirs that he "went every day, according to his rule, to the public Diwan Khana (Hall of audience),

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1. Hasan, Ibn, p. 62.
2. Ibid, p. 65, quoted from Abul Fazl.

and entered the Jharokha and Gusal khana (Parlour) in my usual manner."[1] But he does not give the details about the above mentioned institutions. But in other sources we find about the activities, which were held in these institutions.

Jharokha

DeLaet says that the king showed himself to the people thrice daily, once after sunrise from a window, which was called Jharokha. It opened to the east above the gateway of the audience chamber towards the river Jamuna. Here he was greeted by the people with the cry of 'padshah salamat'. He further says that the king looked down into this every day when sun rose and himself greeted the sun. The nobles gathered here to greet the king; and took their stand on some rising ground, the other Hadys i.e., horsemen and the common people, stood in the country yard. The king showed himself here also at noon to look on at the Thamasa, i.e., the contests of elephants, lions, buffaloes and other wild beasts, which take place every day except Sunday. On Thursdays the king not only kooks on at these contests; but also at the cruel executions of condemned criminals.[2] The institute of Jharokha was introduced by Akbar during his reign, so that people might get a chance to appear before the king without any abstacle or interference. After giving the Darshan, he held an open court in which all people high or low were allowed to present his petitions and represent

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 266.
2. De Laet (Tr. H.and B.), pp. 93-94,97; See Hawkins, p. 115; Morning prayers afterwards Darshan.

their cases in person, and the king did justice in these cases on spot. Huge crowds assembled and there was much bustle.

Dewan-i-Khas-O-Am

Towards evening between three to four p.m. Jahangir appeared for the third time at another window opening westward, called darbar, and at the time of sunset retired, amidst the beating of drums and other instruments and shouts of the people. On each of these occasions audience was given to any bringing a written petition. In this meeting many thousands people entered the country-yard and took up their position according to their dignity and precedence. The Emperor heard here cases and listened to dispatches from the various provinces, which were read by Wazir. The horses and elephants were brought before him and were checked by certain servants, to see either they were of good health or not.[1] Jahangir has mentioned in his memoirs his inspection of the elephants caught for being tamed. 'They were higher than the Akbari and Jahangiri elephants."[2] Fresh appointments, and reception of visitors and officers were held in this Darbar. Prince Khurram before proceeding to the Deccan, presented his select men in full armour in the afternoon, in the courtyard of the Diwan-i-Khas-O-Ain, where besides other rewards, the title of Shah Sultan Khurram was conferred on him.[3] On his successful return from the same expedition, he was summoned to the Jharokha of the Diwan, and the Emperor rose from

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1. Ibn Hasan, p. 68.
2. Ibid, p. 71, Quoted from Tuzuk.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 39.

his seat, embraced him and allowed him to sit there. Bakhshis were then ordered to present the officers who had served under him, according to their rank. When two days later Shahjahan arrayed his Peshkash, including select elephants and horses, in the country-ard, the emperor came down from the Jharokha of the Diwan and saw everything in detail for the sake of the Prince.[1] Reception of a prince or an officer on the Jharokha of the Diwan or Diwan-i-Khas-O-Am was the highest distinction which could be shown by the Emperor in a Public darbar. It was only the distinguished service performed and brilliant success, Shahjahan which gained for him that distinction. This darbar was also held in the time of Akbar. Abul Fazl says that in the afternoon there held a full darbar in the state hall and ended after sunset. In this meeting Akbar spents sometime in inspecting of animal maintained by central government and the affairs of Karkhanqs and other ordinary routine work.[2] But Jahangir's meeting were longer and the nature of business was quite varied than that of Akbar.[3]

Gusal Khana

Jahangir mentions the word Gusalkhana in his memoirs. Abul Fazl has not explained the significance of this term, nor he has mentioned it in connection with Akbar's night or afternoon meetings. He generally uses the word Daulat Khana. The nigh meeting were held here. Between the Diwan Khana and the female residences

1. Tuzu (R.and B.), I, p. 398.
2. A.N. (Beveridge), III, p. 257.
3. Ibn, Hasan, pp. 70-71.

there was an appartment in which Akbar used to take his bath, after which a few trusted persons were admitted to see him. Later on, the diwan and bakhshi were admitted for state business, and generally certain nobles of the court were also allowed in. This state business came to be transacted there, and the chamber by its proximity to the bathroom, came to be known as the Gusalkhana. The use of the term is definite under Jahangir and properly used for the private chamber. He incidently records a night meeting in which an embassy from Shah Abbas of Persia was also present. "On the night of the 19th Aban, after my usual custom, I was in the Gusalkhana, Some of the Amirs and attendants, and by chance Muhammad Riza Beg, the ambassador of the ruler of Persia were present.... The meeting lasted for more than two hours."[1] Another reference in the text shows Jahangir's regular arrangement for such meeting during his tour also. At this stage affair was witnessed. At night, when Jahangir halted, two large Saras appeared, making loud cries under the Gusalkhana, which "they had placed on the tank, as if somebody was excercising oppression on them." They fearlessly began their cries and came foreward. It occurred to hims that certainly some kind of wrong had been done to them. He made an enquiry and it was found that their young had been taken. They were produced before the king and restored to them.[2] De Laet says that "from seven to nine in the evening he holds a private conference with his magnates in a most beautiful hall called the

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 338.
2. Ibid, pp. 79-80.

Gizelcan."[1] Palsaert says that when the Emperior returned from his hunt he appeared in the Gusalkhana. It was attended by "all the lords" and strangers, who had request to make. He sat here "till the quarter of the night or more had passed."[2] The chief ministers of the court, and also of the Empire, are the Treasurer, the Chief Eunuch (Master of the court), the Secretary, the Master of the Elephants, the Guardian of the Tents and the Guardians of the Wardrobe and the Jewels. There is also the Governor of the palace called the Kotwal. There are similar officers also in all the chief cities and towns, who perform the duties of city governors. There are also governors of Prisons, called Kazi."[3] Thus, the king's appearance in Gusalkhana or private chamber afforded facilities to the ministers and heads of the departments to advise the king on all important matters and to express the views which they could not express in a open darbar. Thus, the king had ample opportunities of getting direct information on an important matters, both from official and other sources, and to form his own decision.

Thus, we see that the Emperor, by observing a regulated pattern of life and by strictly a routine looked after the supervised, the proper working of the various departments of the government. The above mentioned institutions provided ample opportunities to the Emperor to perform his multifarious duties of the state and excercise supervision over officers of every rank and department.

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1. De Laet (H.and B.), p. 94.
2. Francisco, Palsaert, p. 53.
3. De Laet, Op.cit., p. 94.

The opening of darbar daily for the lowest, all appointments and all patronage, remaining in the hands of the emperor, and the organisation of tours to different parts of the country not only protected the people from oppression of the government officers but also kept the entire machinery in perfect gear.

Reforms Introduced by Jahangir

Immediately after his accession Jahangir introduced certain important reforms which he might have felt necessary for the Government.

Justice

It seems there was laxity in matters of justice in the last days Akbar's reign. So the first thing Jahangir did was to introduce a system which would bring the complains of the subjects immediately to his direct notice. So he says that soon after his accession he ordered for the fastening of chain of justice. Regarding the purpose of fastening this chain of justice, Jahangir says that "if those engaged in the administration of justice should delay or practise hypocrasy in the matter of those seeking justice, the oppressed might come to this chain and sake it so that its noise might attract attention."[1] It seems that the king's court was the highest court of justice,[2] the petitions of agrieved persons could not reach the emperor promptly and so Jahangir introduced this system of the chain of justice for the benefit of the people.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), p. 7.
2. The Mughal Empire (B.V.B.) VII, p. 524. Ibn Hasan, pp. 316-38.

Though the Mughal Emperors attended to the ordinary cases in the open darbar every day and to important cases requiring the evidence of witnesses and their cross examination on the day in the week fixed exclusively for the administration of justice.[1] It seems Jahangir fastened the chain of justice for such cases which needed his immediate attention. It is noteworthy that Jahangir was so ~~dinte attenti~~ keen to do justice, he fastened the chain for the urgent cases to help the person seeking justice to contract him immediately without any delay that might affect adversely the case. Because to approach the emperor in the open court required time and it needed the performance of the formalities of the court.[2]

We learn from Jahangir that he was most attentive to the duty of judgement. Even in the times of his weakness he went every day to the Jharokha (open court), according to his fixed custom[3] to listen the cases and did justice according the condition after inquiry. Hawkins say that Jahangir heard all cases in the open court and stayed some two hours every day,[4] Some of the cases in which he did judgement are following:

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1. Ibn Hasan,p. 317.
2. Ibid. But De Laet, p. 93 makes a mention of weekly court by Jahangir. 'Once a week on thurdday he takes his seat on the tribunal and hears patiently all cases that are brought before him, both civil and criminal and pronounces a judgement on each which is final.'
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 14.
4. Hawking, p. 116.

1. A widow woman complained before him that Mukarrab Khan, an Imperial officer had taken her daughter by force and when she asked for her daughter, had told that the daughter had died by an unavoidable death. The emperor set up an enquiry into the affair. One of the attendants of the said Khan was found guilty, was put to death and the mansab of the Khan was reduced by one half, and was made an allowance to the woman.[1]

2. Punishment to a thief: A band of thieves had carried off money from the royal treasury. They were caught after some days. Each was punished in exemplary fashion and an order was given for the leader, to be thrown under the feet of an elephant. But as the leader petitioned that he would fight the elephant, Jahangir issued an order according to his petition. Though the furious elephant threw him down several times but he (leader) struck the elephant's trunk with the dagger and that animal refrained from attacking on him. Then Jahangir ordered to enquire his history. But after a short time, the said leader ran way in his lodging. But when he was caught second time, he was ordered to be hanged.[2]

It is generally found that during the reign of Jahangir the ~~pity~~ religious condemned were punished by whipping, which they received severely. If they were condemned to death, they were carried to the market place to die. Murder and theft were punished with death in whatever form emperor imposed it. Some were hanged, some beheaded and empaled. Others were put upon sharp snakes, an

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 172.
2. Ibid, p. 343.

instrument of extreme tourture and torment, or tourn to pieces by wild beasts. The condemned were also killed by elephants, who were specially trained for this job. Either saints or Amirs, if they were found guilty, received punishments by the Emperor.[1]

The European Traveller Thomas Roe, who visited India during reign of Jahangir says about the punishments, that in two of, men condemned to death were given, one for killing of his father or mother. For the killing of the father, the condemn men was bound by heels and tied to a chain, which was fastened to the hind legs of the elephant. The beast (elephant) was encouraged to drag him, which was done accordingly. The victim was dragged for ten miles with result that his flesh was torn to pieces. For murdering the mother, a mount bank, who kept venerous snakes, was called for. The culprit was stripped naked, and the snake charmer putting the two snakes in funy, made them bite the things of the condemned man. All was over within fifteen minutes. The wretch complained of exceeding fire tormenting his legs. His whole body swelled. Half an hour he lay dead.[2]

From the above facts we reach to the point that Jahangir was strict in the manner of justice. He says that he punished all the condemned persons, so that other might not follow their faults. "The special chastisement (was given) for the purpose of carrying... in order that other ignorant might not be disposed towards the

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.) I, pp. 17,71,343, 353, 421; II, pp. 158, 276.
2. Thomas Roe, pp. 282-3.

same action."[1] He was such fond of justice that he did justice even for the birds and animals, if they petitioned before him.[2] But sometimes he found in him guilty. At the time of hunting, he had got within shot of a nilgaw, suddenly a groom and his two men appeared and the nilgaw escaped. The groom was killed on the spot by the Emperor's order and the two men were mounted on asses and parraded through the camp.[3] This conduct of Jahangir was sufficiently brutal. Nevertheless, he had great love of justice and took much interest in judgements, even in the cases of poor and widows. The kind of punishment was hard, so that other might be stopped to repeat the same fault.

Twelve Regulations

Immediately after his accession Jahangir issued 'Twelve orders' to be observed as 'rule of conduct' in all his dominion.

1. Prohibition of 'Mirbahri' and 'Tumgha'

The first regulation was relating to the internal transit duties which jagirdars of province and districts imposed upon people for their personal gain. Jahangir issued an order for the stoppage of this kind of practices.[4] Akbar was anxious to stop strictly this kind of administrative corruption,[5] it is surprising that he had failed in his effort in this matter and Jahangir had

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 171.
2. Ibid, p. 343.
3. Ibid, p. 164.
4. Ibid, p. 7.
5. (E.and D., VI, p. 393.

to issue order to prohibit such malpractices. Foreign traveller R. Steel and J. Growther, who visited Multan during reign of Jahangir remarks that, "All carvans must remain at Multan ten or twelve days, before leave can be procured from the governor to proceed, on purpose that the city may benefit by their stay. We remained five days, and were then glad to get leave to depart, by means of a present."[1]

Thomas Roe say that, "I found that the English who were settled at Ahmadabad were injured and oppressed by the governor in their persons and goods, being fined, subjected to a arbitrary exactions, and kept as prisioners; while at every town new customs were demanded for their goods on their passage to the port."[2] Nothing was exacted upon exports and imports, except a triffle taken at the port, which never exceeds two and a half per cent merchants accounted that reduction a perfect remission. It can be seen from one of the exacts given by Jahangir that his total reduction also implied a levy of two and a half per cent.[3]

2. A Regulation for the Safety of the Travellers

The roads were unsafe. Thefts and robberies took place in lonely spots of the roads. So Jahangir issued the order that the Jagirdars of the neighbourhood should buold taverans, mosques and dig wells on such lonely spots so that people would come to such areas and settledown there. If such areas were in the neighbourhood of Khalsa land the administrator of that place should

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.) VI, p. 394.
2. Ibid.
3. R.and D.) VI, pp. 291, 354.
Ibid

execute the work.[1] It seems that Jahangir, when he was prince, had taken notice of this condition of the country and so soon after his accession he circulated the above order throughout his dominion for the safety of the travellers, We are, however, not certain how far Jahangir was successful in making the country safe for the public. Because William Hawkins who was in India (1608-1613 A.D.) gives a very unfavourable description of the unsafe conditions of the country. He says that "the country is now so full of thieves and outlaws, that one can hardly stir out of door in any part of his dominions without a guard, as almost the whole people are in rebellion."[2] It seems Hawkins has given a somewhat exaggerated description of the lawless condition, which prevailed in the country. Regarding the want of safety on the lonely roads we are told by Sir Thomas Roe, William Finch and other foreign travellers.[3] His father Akbar, also had directed the same. His orders to the sipah-salar are: "thm He must give attention to the digging of resevoirs, wells, and watercourse; to the planting of gardens, to the erecting sarais and other pions and useful foundations; and that such as have fallen into decay be repaired."[4] Here Jahangir followed the rule of his father by issuing such orders.

3. The third order that no person should open any package of merchants without informing him and obtaining their leave.[5] It seems that the merchants suffered from interference on the roads by unauthorised persons and in order to correct this undesirable

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 7-8.
2. Hawkins, in Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. 1, p. 230.
3. E.and D., VI, pp. 495-96.
4. Ain (Gladwin), I, p. 233.
5. Tuzuk (R.and B.),I, p. 8.

condition, Jahangir issued order. That even government affai officers were unscrupulous to this kind of mischiefs, is noticed in connection with the events following the arrival of William Hawkins of Surat. All the valuable presents which he had brought for the Emperor were snaitched away from him by the officer at the port. When he reached the court of the Emperor, he had nothing left with him exept pieces of broad cloth to present to the Emperor.[1]

4. The Proper care of personal property deceased individuals

An order was issued that, if anybody in his dominion died, his property would be inherited by his immediate successor. In the absence of any successor, the property was to be utilised in building of Mosques, sarais, repair of broken bridges and digging of wells and tanks.[2] Though usually the property of the issueless person went to the state treasury. Jahangir here showed a very noble trait of his character by m issuing order for the utilisation of such property in the works of public benefit. In connection what Hawkins says that the custom of the Mughal was to take possession of all the treasure belonging to their nobles when they died, giving among the children what they pleased, but they usually treated them kindly. "In my time Raja Gaginat, a great lord or prince among the idolators died, when his effects being seized to the king's use, besides jewels, silver, and other valuables, his

1. Foster, William, Early Travels in India (1583-1619), pp.63-64.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), p. 8.

treasure in gold only amounted to sixty mans, everyman being twenty five pounds weight."[1] The above facts given by Hawkins do not apparently tally with the order issued by Jahangir. But we learn from other foreign travellers also that treasure and property of the issuless nobles went to the Emperor.[2] It seems that though the Emperor was the natural inheritor of the property of one, who died without any successor, Jahangir wanted to spend such property in the welfare activities of the state.

5. Prohibition of Manufacturing Wine

An order was issued that neither wine nor rice-spirit nor any kind of intoxicating drug should be manufactured or sold in the whole dominion. In this connection he also gave facts about his own habit of drinking. And he has described how he had gradually decreased the number of his wine cups. And he writes that after the age of thirty eight, he drank only to digest his food.[3] So Jahangir was concious of the pernicious effects of wine and he wanted that the people of his empire should not get any chance to acquire the habit of drinking. His care for the health of the public is clearly noticed here. But Jahangir's drinking habit with his officers presents before us that "the religion of christian was aggeeble to him, chiefly on account of the license which it affords for the use of wine, and the flesh of all kinds of animals.... with possessions founded on such impure motives,

1. (E.and D.), VI, p. 497.
2. Ibid, 497-98.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.),I, p. 8, Regulation No. 5.

did he declare himself in favour of the christians, and violate, without scruple, the law of Mohomet. He drank wine in the face of his whole court."[1]

6. Order for the protection of the Private Residences of Individuals

The order was issued that no one had right to take possession of any other personal dwelling place.[2] It seems that in the beginning of reign of Jahangir, there was general slackening in the enforcement of law and order, unscruplous, people were unhasitingly taking possession of other dwelling places of other persons, if the later wore timid and incapable in resisting the intruders. Jahangir, to stop this kind of corruption, issued the above decration. This kind of order was issued by Akbar also: "Have a care that no soldiers and others enter in anyone's house without his permission," and this prohibition does not appear to have much effect, for the again has to repeat in the sixth year of his reign.[3]

7. Abolution of the Mutilation of Nose or Ears of Culprints

An order was issued forbiding the cutting of the nose and ears of the culprits. In this connection Jahangir says that he took a vow by the throne of God that "I would not blemish anyone by this punishment."[4] Here we find the humansight of Jahangir's character and we also find a reflection of his cultured mind.

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1. Catrou's History of Mughal Dynasty, p. 138.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.),I, p. 8, Regulation No. 6.
3. Bird's History of Gijarat, pp. 39, 94, Quoted by (E.and D.), VI, p. 503.
4. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 9, Regulation No. 7.

8. Rules for the Protection of Peasants

An order was issued that 'the official of the crown lands and jagirdars should not forcibly take the ryot's lands and cultivate them on their own account."[1] This kind aggrasive conduct on the part of the royal officer and the landlords show that the poor and the weak peasants were oppressed by the powerful officers. As a ruler Jahangir took cognizance of this evil practice and issued orders to stop it. In this connection it is worth quoting what we find in an authoritative work on Indian History. Dr. Eliphiston says that "the administration of the country had rapidly declined since Akbar's time. The governments were formed, and the governors exacting and tyrannical."[2] It is to be noted that in the Bird's History of Gujarat' it has been observed that 'The edict of his father, enjoining the observance of kindness and conciliation towards the cultivators, goes much further than this.[3] But we find that Jahangir had to issue the order for the protection of the poor peasants from the molestation of the high officials and big landlords, suggests that Akbar's efforts for welfare of the peasantry had proved futile.

9. Regulation prohibiting officers from Establishing Local Influence in the Areas, where they were Appointed

An order was issued prohibitting the government collectors and jagirdars in establishing matrimonial relations with the inhabitants of this respective jurisdiction without permission.[4] This

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 9, Regulation No. 8.
2. Eliplistón, 'History of India', Vol. II, p. 325.
3. Bird's History of Gujarat, p. 394.
4. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 9, Regulation No. 9.

was indeed a wholesome regulation which would restrict the government officers and jagirdars in concentrating power in their own hands which might help them in spiring for gaining independent status in the long run. On the other hand the officers could not many will anybody forcibly, therefore, this order that they should take permission from the Emperor before such marriages. In this connection Francis Gladwin in his work entitled 'Reign of Jahangir' has written that "Khojah Birkadar having married the daughter of Mehabut Khan, unknown to his Majesty, upon the discovery thereof, was ordered to the presence, where he was beaten and then committed to prison."[1] It is to be noted that jagirs were grants of land administered as temporary states by the holders who were the government officers and they were expected to defray all their official expenses from the proceeds; which was the income of the jagirs. Akbar was hostile to the jagir system like his Sur predecessors, because it was expensive and gave his nobles too much powers and independence. Each jagirdar was a little king in his own jagir. Akbar quoted much energy to the conversion of jagirs into crown lands.[2] Some find that jagirdars used to concentrate powers in their hands and tried to become independent in their own states. Akbar tried to put an end to jagir system but evidently he was not successful and Jahangir took steps to put curbs on the jagirdars by prohibiting them into marriage relations with the local families which helped them in strengthening their power.

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1. Gladwin, Francis, p. 79, see also (E.and D.)VI, pp. 396-512. Elipliston's History of India, Vol. II, p. 339. Alaxender, Dow, History of Hindustan, Vol. III, p.89, both says that he was beaten with Thomas being made naked and the dowry taken by him was seized with his all property.
2. Smith, Akbar the Great Mughal, p. 365.

10. Medical Care for the sick

An order was issued by Jahangir for opening of hospitals and appointment of physicians for healing the sick in all the big cities of the empire and directed that the expenses should be defrayed from the Royal Treasury (Khalisa Establishment).[1] We learn from price that the expense was given to sick also from the imperial exchequer until the final recovery of the patient, who was then to be discharged with a sufficient sum of money for his exigencies.[2] This was one of the institutes of his lying ancestor Timur, and no doubt, as much observed in one instance as the other.[3] We also find that among the Muslim Rulers who were the predecessor of Jahangir, it was Firoz Shah Tughlaq who provided state hospitals for the sick of all classes, native and foreign.[4]

11. Regulation of Animal Slaughter

In imitation of his father, Jahangir issued an order that on the 18th of every Rabi-ul-awwal, which was his birthday, for a number of days corresponding to the years of his life, no animal should be slaughtered. Two days in each week were also forbidden, one of them was Thursday, the day of his accession and the other Sunday, the day of his revered father's birth. Akbar also held the day (Sunday) in great esteem on this account because this day was dedicated to the sun, and on this very day the creation had begun.[5] Here we find that Jahangir had respect for his father's

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 9, Regulation No. 10.
2. Price, David, p. 13.
3. Davy and White's Institutes of Timur, p. 371, quoted by (E.and D.), VI, p. 513.
4. Lawpoole, Stanley, Medieval India, p. 114.
5. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 9, Regulation No. 1.

regulation in connection with animal slaughter. Further we find that he made further edition in this matter by issuing the order that from the date of his birthday, no animal should be slaughter for the number of corresponding to the years of his life. If this order was literally obeyed throughout the length and breadth of the empire, it is certainly an admirable feature in the history Muslim Ruling India. Further Jahangir tells us that "Of the austerities practiced by my revered father, one was the not eating flesh of animals. During three months of the year he ate meat, and for the remaining nine contented himself with sufi food and was no way many months this was forbidden to the people."[1] Thus, this regulation was followed by Jahangir from his father with slight variation.

12. Regulation including the Jagirdars, Officials Domestics Servants and the Ladies of the Harem

A general order was issued by Jahangir that the officers and jagirs of his father should remain intact. Further the mansabs were increased according to their circumstances by not less than twenty per cent to thirty or fourty per cent, the subsistence money of the ahadis by fifty per cent and pay of all the domestic servants by twenty per cent. The allowances of all veiled ladies of his father's harem were also increased from twenty to hundred per cent according to their condition and relationship. The subsistence land of the holders of the army (charity land) was confirmed according to their deeds. An order was given to Miran Sadr Jahan[2] to produce

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 45.
2. Miran Sadr Jahan was one of the genuine Sayyids of India and for a long time led the high office of Sadr (ecclesiastical officer) under Akbar, see Tuzuk (R.and B.),I, p. 10.

before the Emperor, the deserving people for charity and by an order, all the criminals who had been confined an imprisoned for a long time in the forts and prisons were released.[1]

The above mentioned twelve regulations were certainly issued by Jahangir for the care of his government officers and subjects. He also cared for the foreign travellers, abolishing the transit dues. Although some exceptions of such crimes or illegal acts are remarked by the historians during his reign; nevertheless, his efforts to circulate his orders are full of praise.

New Coins Introduce

After the proclamation of the above mentioned twelve orders Jahangir introduced his own coinage. New Gold, silver and copper coins were introduced. It is interesting that he gave different names to the coins of different weights. The name of "Nur-Shahi" was given to the Muhar of hundred tola; 'nur-sultani', to that of fifty tola, 'nur-mihr' to that of five tola, 'nur-jahani' to that of one tola, the half of one tola was named 'nurani' and the quarter of one tola was named 'rawaji'.[2] The coins of silver were also named by Jahangir. The name of 'Kaukab-i-tali (star of horoscope) was given to the coin of hundred tola; the 'Kaukab-i-iqbal (star of fortune)' to that of fifty tola; the 'Kaukab-i-murad (star of desire)

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 9-10.
2. Ibid, pp. 10-11.

to that of twenty tola; the 'Kankab-i-bakht (star of good luck)' to that of ten tola; the Kankab-i-sad (star of auspiciousness)' to that of five tola; the Jahangiri to that of one tola. The half of one tola (half Jahangiri) was named Sultani quarter tola was nisan (showering money); and the dime, khair-qabul acceptable.[1] The copper coins were also issued in the same proportion and were given specific names.[2]

The following verse composed by Asaf Khan was ordered to be inscribed on the gold muhrs of hundred fifty, twenty and ten tolas -

> "Fate's pen wrote on the coin in letters of light,
> The Shah Nuru-d-din Jahangir."[3]

and between the lines of the verse the creed (Kalima) was impressed. On the reverse was this couplet, in which the date of coinage was signified:

> "Through this coin is the world brightened as by the sun,
> and the date thereof is 'Sun of Dominion' (Aftab-i-Manlakat)."[4]

Between the lines of the verse, the mint, the Hizra year, and the regnal year were impressed.[5]

We find that ordinary gold coin of one tola, named Nurjahani was increased in weight by twenty per cent. On this coin the following verse by Amir-ul-umar was impressed -

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 11,
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

"Shah Nuruddin Jahangir ibn Akbar Padshah Made gold's face bright with the sheen of sun and moon."[1]

Accordingly, a humistich was inscribed on each face, with the mint, the Hizra and the renal year. The Jahangiri sikka, which was greater in weight by twenty per cent, was reckoned as equal to one rupee, its weight being fixed in the samemanner as that of 'nurjahani', which was one tola[2] in weight.[2] During Akbar's reign there were several gold, silver and copper coins of different names and weights and there were verses inscribed on them. Here we find in memoirs of Jahangir new coins issued by him, bearing new names and different weights. According to Abul Fazl, a gold coin "Shahanshah" weighing 101 tolas, 9 masa, 7 surkhs, the another gold coin called Aftabi, weighed 1 tola, 2 masas and 4 3/4 surkhs.[4] But Jahangir issued the gold coin weighing 100 tola which with the name of 'Nurshahi' and another of simply one tola.

Again in twelvth year of his reign Jahangir gave an order that tankas of gold and silver should be coined twice in the weight of ordinary muhrs and rupees. On the one side of the gold coin was inscribed the words - "Jahangir-shahi 1027" and on the reverse "struck in Cambay in the 12th year of the reign." The legend for the silver coin was one side, "Sikka Jahangir-shahi 1027" round it the hemistich, "King Jahangir of the conquering ray struck this," and on the reverse "coined at Cambay in the 12th year of the reign,"

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.),I, p. 11.
2. The weight of one tola was 2 1/2 misquah of Persia and Turan.
3. Ibid, pp. 11-12.
4. Ain (Blochman), I, p.

with the second hemistich round it -

"When after the conquest of the Deccan he came Gujrat from Mandu."

About these coins Jahangir explacitely says that, "In no reign except mine have tankas been coined except of copper, the gold and silver tankas are my invention and I ordered it to be called Jahangiri coinage."[1]

Again in the beginning of thirteenth year of his reign, Jahangir introduced some minor changes in the rule of coinage, in which, on the one face of the metal, the name of Jahangir was stamped, and on the reverse the name of the place, and the month and year of the reign was inscribed. Now Jahangir ordered that in place of the month, the figure of the constillation which belonged to that month should be engraved.[2]

On the basis of the above facts about the coinage of Jahangir we can construe that Jahangir took intelligent interest in coinage and thus, we can say, entirely new style of coinage came into being. It will not be wrong to say that Jahangir's coins bear his originately in this field and reflect his living interest in the affairs of the state.

Reforms Introduced by Jahangir

Abolution of a Improper Practice of Fees on Presents

In the first year of his reign Jahangir abolished the

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 417-18.
2. Ibid, II, pp. 6-7.

custom,[1] according to which the receiver of the gift of a horse or one elephant had to pay a amount of money to 'Mir Akhuran' (care taker of the animals) as bridle money (Jelawana). Jahangir made a rule that this kind of payment to the keeper of the animal would be made from the State treasury, so that "people might be freed from the importunities and demands of that set of men."[2] From the above accounts it becomes clear that Jahangir did not like this practice introduced by Akbar and having noticed of it, took steps to stop it as soon as he came to the power.

Abolution of Transit Dues

Jahangir had already abolished the custom duties throughout him realm, amounting to an income of krors, he also abolished the transit dues in Kabul. Kabul was situated on the road to Hindustan from the west, and so, it benefited the people of Iran and Turan. Here Jahangir also tells us that the transit dues in Kabul was amounting to a sum of one kror and twenty three lakhs of dams. We further learn from Jahangir that from the provinces of Kabul and Qandahar large sums used to be derived every year from the customs, which were the chief revenue of those places.[3] This fact reflects Jahangir's policy to encourage intercourse with foreign countries and also to give freedom to traders and tourists in their movements.

Jahangir' statement with reference to the abolution of the transit duties throughout in his empire including Kabul and Qandahar

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1. This was one of the Akbar's regulation, Ain (Blochman), p.142. The amount was ten dams on each muhr of the horses value, calculated on an increase of fifty per cent, see David Price, p. 61.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 46.
3. Ibid, p. 47.

offers scope for analysing administrative policy. He says that this transit duties were fixed, but he abolished those duties and say further that this abolition would remaining force during the periods of his descendants. He also says in his connection that in Ghazani he had distributed rewards among the 'good and leading men."[1] It is noteworthy that Jahangir did not mind to forego the huge income coming in the form of transit duties. The reason behind it would be, that he wanted to encourage free trade. As regards his policy of honouring the distinguished persons of Ghazni, the possible reason would be that he wanted to win the loyalty of the people of that region. Since Quandahar was recently conquerred by Akbar, it seems that Jahangir wanted to secure the confidence of the people of Qandahar.

Stop the Custom of making young Boys Eunuchs

In Sylhet, which was a dependency of Bengal, it was a custom for the people to give their young sons to the governors of that region in lieu of revenue (mal-Wajibi). Those young boys were made eunuchs. This practice in course of time had spread to other provinces too. Jahangir issued an order abolishing this abomonible custom toward the end of his third regnal year. Jahangir issued farmans to Islam Khan and other governors of the subahs of Bengal and anyone who would commit such acts would be given capital punishment, and also ordered them to seize the eunuchs of tender age, who might be anyone's possession. This practice was

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 107-8.

effectively abolished and Jahangir declares in his memoirs that earlier rulers had failed to stop this inhuman practice. He says "Please Almighty God, in a short time this objectionable practice will be completely done away with; and the traffic in eunuchs being for bidden, no one shall venture on this unpleasant and unprofitable proceeding."[1]

We further learn from Jahangir that in the very beginning of his reign he had repeatedly issued orders for the stoppage of making enuchs and buying and selling them and it was also clearly declared that if any body doing so would be considered as a criminal.[2] It was a remarkable achievement on the part of Jahangir if he subcessfully stopped this oriental practice or this vicious practice of the East. His earnest efforts to protect the future of the young boys show his noble character as a human being and as a ruler. The facts shows Jahangir's deep concern in protecting young children by his decrease against this custom of making eunuchs.

Promulgation of Ain-i-Jahangiri

In the memoirs of Jahangir we find that in seventh year of his reign, Jahangir issued orders for the Bakhshis to circulate orders forbidding the Amirs on the boarders to interfere in such things which were the private affairs of the kings. The following orders were circulated[3], (i) Not to sit at the Jharokha or windo,

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 150-51.
2. Ibid, p. 168.
3. Ibid, p. 205; Wakiat-i-Jahangiri (E.and D.),VI, pp. 325-26.

(ii) Not to give the Amirs and sardar serving under them the annoyance of their own chair or of requiring obesance to the chair, (iii) Not to have elephant fights, (iv) Not any person by ordering by him to be blinded, or to have his nose or ears cut off, (v) Not to forcibly impose Muslamans on any one, (vi) Not to grant title to their servants, (vii) Not to require the servants of the state to make Kornish or Sizda, (viii) Not to trouble in singers and musicians to give chairs after the manner of a darbar, (ix) Not to have the drums beaten at the time of their going out, (x) When they presented a horse of elephant to anyone, whether to the king's attendants or to their own servants, they should not place reigns or elephants goals on their backs and make them perform obiesance, (xi) In going in possession they should not take with them on foot in their retinue the royal attendants, (xii) Not to place their seals upon letters addressed to royal servants.

These prohibitionary rules were explacitely meant to check the Amir in their desire to imitate the Emperor and to behave like independent rulers in their respective jurisdictions. It seems that the Amirs, particularly in the boarders tried to behave in a manner as if they were almost on a par with the sovereign. This kind of behavior, on the part of the Amirs, if tolerated might lead them to the path defying the Imperial authority in course of time. Jahangir took cognigence of this fact and he promulgated the above rules to restrict the Amirs in their ambition. An author[1] on Mughal Administration has mentioned the above regulations

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U.N. Day, Mughal Administration, p. 25.

but he has not tried to analyse the reasons behind the promulgation of these regulations.

Released Qazi and Mir-i-Adl from Ceremony of Prostration

In the end of the sixth year of his reign Jahangir issued an order in regard of justice that the Qazi and Mir-i-Adl should not kin the ground before him, which was a kind of 'sizda'. In this connection we find him referring the Mir-i-Adl and Qazis as the pivot of affairs of the divine law.[1] Here we see Jahangir's great regard for law and law-makers and he stopped the tradition of prostation by Mir-i-Adl and Qazis. The Mir-i-Adl and Qazi formed the judicial bench in every town. The former pronounced the sentence according to the cases as investigated by the latter.[2]

Orders about Grants of Lands and About Seal

Soon after his accession Jahangir informed "the bakhshis that whoever wished to have his birth place into his jagir should make a representation to that effect, so that in accordance with the chingiz canon (tura) the estate might be conveyed to him by all tumgha and become his property, and he might be secured from apprehension of charge." In this connection Jahangir say that his ancestors and forefathers granted the jagirs to their officers under proprietary title and adorned the farmans for those with al tamgha seal, which was an impressed seal made in vermilion

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 203.
2. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 101.

(red-ink). But Jahangir cover the place for the seal with gold leaf (tilaposh) and impressed the seal thereon and named it altun tamgha.[1] It seems that the ancestors and forefathers of Jahangir were granting jagirs to their officer in accordance with the manner of proprietary title, was popular since the time of Babar. But Jahangir changed this tradition and followed the old tradition of Chingiz canon, by altumgha, in which the jagirdars were declared the master of the land, who received land from the Emperor under this process. Thus, the fact given by Jahangir clears that he had regard for the tradition of Chingiz Khan and it seems that he found it better than the manner of his ancestors and forefathers and made it regular.

Introduce New Weight of Seer

In his memoirs Jahangir writes that during Akbar's reign the weight of a seer was 30 dams and it came into his mind that "why s shoul act according to this rul?"[2] One day while he was taking interview of the Hindu saint Jadrup, he learnt from the saint that the weight of a seer is mentioned in the Vedas, 36 dams. Further Jahangir says, "As from the coin coincidences of the hidden world your order has fallen in with what is laid down in our books, if it be fixed 36 dams, it will be well," and after that Jahangir issued an order in his whole dominion that the weight of a seer would be 36 dams.[3] Here it is to be noted that Jahangir took

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 23.
2. Ibid, II, p. 202.
3. Ibid.

interest in this affair. When he found that the weight of the seer is mentioned in Vedas and even in Islamic Religious books,[1] he did not take care of Akbar's weight and introduced the new weight according to his own decision. This facts present Jahangir's regard for the religious books and old tradition.

Prohibition of Satipratha in Rajaur

In 1620, while Jahangir was encamped at Rajaur, he got a report that a girl of ten or twelve years old, was put alive into grave, along with her husband after his death, who was of the same age. Jahangir writes about the people of Rajaur that they were originally Hindus and were converted to Islam by Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq. But even now they were called 'Rajas' and the practices, which were prevailed during the times of their ignorance were still observed amongst them. According to this practice, wives immolated themselves alive on the funeral pyres of their husbands, and burried themselves alive in their husband's grave, just as the Hindu ladies burnt themselves along with their busbands. When a daughter was born to man without means, they put her to death by strangulation. Jahangir issued an order prohibiting this brutal practice and punishments enjoyed for their infraction.[2] The prohibition of this kind of practice by Jahangir, shows his sympathy for huminity. It seems, he was much impressed by the putting of the alive girl into the grave with her husband after his death, and his humanity forced him to stop this kind of practice.

1. Jahangir clearly writes, 'in our books', which means the religious books of Islam. See Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 202.
2. Tuzuk R.and B.),II, p. 181; (E.and D.),VI, p. 376, Apparently sati was practiced by burning but by burying.

Jahangir Prohibits Muslims to Marry their Daughter with the Hindus

We learn from Jahangir that a Muslim should not marry her daughter with the Hindus or the men of other religion. In connection of the people of Rajaur, who were formerly Hindus a but later on converted to Islam, Jahangir writes that they allied with the Hindus and made matrimonial relations with them. He prohibited the Muslims saying that "Taking them is good, but giving them God forebid." In this connection he issued an order prohibiting the Muslims and the Hindus to follow this practice and "whoever was guilty, of them, should be capitally punished."[1] The above facts clears the Jahangir's regard for his religion, as Islam prohibits the Muslims to marry with the person of other religion and they want to marry, the candidate should be converted to Islam.[2] But Jahangir was agree to convert the Hindu girl into Islam, therefore, he refers good to take girl, as it increased the number of Muslims, and in giving girl, they were not considered as Muslims, which decreased their number. It seems that under this belief the Mughals marry the Hindu girls, but did not marry their own girls to the Hindus.

Religious Policy

Religion of Jahangir

After scrutiny of the facts found in the text, Jahangir seems a true follower of Islam. Soon after his accession, he directed the ulama and the learned men of Islam to collect those

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 181.
2. [illegible]

of the distinctive appellations of God which were easy to remember so that he might make them into his rosary (daily practice) and in this connection he associated with the pious and learned men, and with dervishes and recluses.[1] Further we learn from his memoirs that he had ordered Shaikh Muhammad, an officer to ask for whatever he (Shaikh Muhammad) desired without concealment and "I took an oath on the Quran to this effect. He said that as I had sworn on the Quran he would ask for a Quarn that he might always have it by him, and that the merit of reading it might accrue to His Majesty."[2] The fact by Jahangir in connection of Quran presents his regard for Quran and faith in Quran. Because he had taken an oath of Quran to fulfil the Shaikh Muhammad's desire and after giving Quran, suggested him to have it always with him, because merit of reading it "might accrue to God (Allah)." Further Jahangir gave a Quran to the Shaikh in Yakut's[3] handwriting and ordered him to translate the Quran into simple language word by work into persion without ornament, and without occupying himself with explanations or fine language and also directed not to add a single letter to its exact purpert, and after completing it, he should send it to the court through his sone.[4] Such kind of faith in Quran presents a Islamic picture of Jahangir. The aim of this translation of the Quran in simple language, was that most of the people might read and follow it. Thus, we see that he was not only the follower of Quran, but he made the Quran easy for the general people.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 21.
2. Ibid, II, p. 34.
3. For Yakut had compiled the Quran for his life see Ain I (Blochman), pp. 99-100; He was a famous compiler, and lived in the 13th century.
4. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 34-35.

When he went to see the fort of Kangra, after his victory over it, he gave an order to the Qazi, the chief justice and other learned men of Islam to accompany him and carry out in the fort "whatever was customary, according to the religion of Muhammad." The call to prayer, reading of Khutba and the slaughter of bulock werecarried out in the fort in his presence. An order was also given by the Emperor to build a lofty mosque inside the fort.[1]

The above facts by Jahangir it becomes clear that he was true follower of Islamic law and Ibn Hasan also say that Jahangir followed the Islamic law.[2]

His Regard for other Religions

Though Jahangir was a true follower of Islam, but he regarded the other religion also. We find in his memoirs that like the Muslim festivals, the Hindu festivals of Dasahara, Diwali, Holi, Shivrat, Rakhi were celebrated with Imperial splendour.[3] Further Jahangir's interest and regard can be seen in his discussion with the Hindu saint Jadrup.[4] Following the vedas he introduced the new weight of seer.[5] From the fact found in his memoirs we reach to the point that he had regard for the other religion and he liked the goodness of other religion. Thomas Roe, a contemporary European traveller writes about Jahangir's religious belief that, "the present king, bread up without any fancy, and never

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 223.
2. Ibn Hasan, the central structure of the Mughal Empire, p. 63, says he regarded himself in theory as Muslim king and did not think himself above Islamic law.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), pp. 246, 252, 268, 346, I, 100, 176.
4. Ibid, pp. 355, 359, II, 49.52, 104,105,108.
5. Supra, p. 135-136

circumcised, bread up without any religion at all, continues so to this honer; and is an Athiest. Sometimes he will make profession of a Moore, but always observe the holidays and do all ceremonys with Gentily too. He is content with all religions, only he loues none that Changith."[1] William Hawkins writes that he was so much impressed with the religion of christionity that he made his hephews christians.[2]

The Emperor's Birth day

The Mughal Emperor celebrated his birthdays in the court with special pomp and splendour. Both on his solar and lunar birth days his weighing was held. On his solar birthdays he was weighed against twelve times and on lunar eight times against various articles, which were distributed among the faqirs and indigents. Jahangir writes: "Twice a year I weigh myself against gold and silver and other metals, and against all sorts of silks and cloths, and various grains."[3] Referring one of his solar weighing he writes, "...my solar weighing was held in the usual manner. The first weight came to 6514 tulcha of gold, I was weighed twelve times against various things; the second weighing was against quick silver, the third different things; against silk, the fourth against various perfumes, such as ambergris and musk, down to sandalwood led ban and so on; until twelve weighing were completed."[4] Further Jahangir

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1. Thomas, Roe, p. 314.
2. William Foster, Early Travels in India, pp. 86-116.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 77-88.
4. Ibid, pp. 332-33.
5.

informs us that according to the number of years of his life, "a goat, and a fowl (for each year)" were given to faqirs and dervishes.[1] Thomas Coryat who was in India from 1612 to 1627 A.D. wrote that the weighing ceremony of the Emperor was celebrated with great pomp. The Emperor weighed himself in a pair of golden scales "laying so much gold in the other scale in countervaileth the weight of his body." All was later on distributed among the poor.[2] Hawkins, Roe, mention the same manner[3] and after that an great feast was held by the Imperial order, in which all the nobles and the family members of the Emperor took part and blessed him for his long life and presented their gifts to the Emperor.[4]

The Feast of Nauroz

The festival of Nauroz was a annual festival which was celebrated by the court with special pomp on the occasion of New Year. This was kept on the new moon before the beginning of the year. In initiation of the persian, this word 'Nauroz' means 'The Nine days'. Referring the first festival of Nauroz after his accession Jahangir writes, "I ordered them to decdrate the porticos of the private and public halss of the palace, as in the time of my revered father, with delicate stuffs, and to adorn them handsomely. From the feast of Nauroz to the 19th degree of of the Ram (Aries) which is the day of culmination, the people gave themselves over to enjoyment and happiness. Players and

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 333, this custom of weighing was introduced by Akbar.
2. Thomas Coryat, p. 245.
3. Hawkins Voyage, p. 439-40, purchas III, 48, Thomas Roe, Embassy graphically describes the solar weighing of 1921.
4. De Laet (H.and B.), pp. 101-103.

singers of all bands and castes were gathered together. During lulies and charms of India whose caresses would captivate the hearts of angels kept up the excitement of the assemblies."[1] Everyone enjoyed this festival and was permitted to take intoxicating drinks or exhilitaring drugs. According to the custom one of the great nobles prepared an establishment on each of 17 or 18 days of the festival during the life time of Akbar. But Jahangir celebrated this festival for nine days. All the nobles of the court and officers in great pomp, presented their gifts to the Emperor and in return, they received promotions and Imperial favours from the Emperor.[2] De Laet says that on this occasion the emperor sat on the cushions, adorned with many pearls and most and most precious gems. "The rest of the countryard was filled with the tents of magnets,.... Then he takes his seat and awaits the presents which each must give him.... On these days the emperor shows himself to the common people from the Darbar, and receives gifts from everyone. At last near the end of the feast he distributes small gifts and pensions to the courtiers and magnates who have deserved them well: and he increases the dignities of some."[3]

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 48-49.
2. Ibid, p. 49. Terry, pp. 375, 76, also says that I being in his presence beheld most immense and incredable riches, to my management in gold, pearls and precious stones jewels and many other glittering rarities." The feast was even celebrated in the camp. This festival was introduced by Akbar after persian manner.
3. De Laet, (H.and B.), pp. 98-101.

Appointment and Promotions

The appointments and promotions of the officers, all were made by the Emperor. They were promoted or transferred according to their former dignities and previous activities. On the occasion of the annual festival, which were celebrated in the court, the officer were allowed to enjoy them and at the very occasion they presented their gifts to the Emperor and received in reward promotion or Imperial favours, according to their merit.[1]

Public Welfare : Charity and Alms

Jahangir took care of saints, faqirs and poors of his empire. He spent a part of treasury on charity and alm. Soon after his accession, while he was in Kabul, he distributed 12,000 rupees on every Thursday (his accession day and birth day) among the poor and faqirs of Kabul, till his departure from that region.[2] On the occasion of festivals anniversaries of his forefathers and the revered saints, whom he regarded, he distributed money, land, etc. among the indulgent and faqirs.[3] He distributed money with his own hand to poors and widows. Jahangir writes that, "I ordered the mace-bearers and tawachiyans to collect the widows and poor people from the villages on the road and near it, and bring them before me, so that I might bestow charity on them with my own hand, which would be an occupation, and the helpless ones might also find, grace. What better occupation could there by than

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.),I, pp. 12-17, 20,21, 122; II, 111,133,274.
2. Ibid, p. 107.
3. See Ibid, pp. 46,58,71,72,73,74,81,107,121,159,172,180,253, 255,256,333, 428,432,440; II 8-12, 35,166,182,236.

this?"[1] The above facts present a picture of Jahangir as a pious man, who took much care of indigent and dervishes of his dominion. Soon after his accession, he ordered an officer Miran Sadr Jahan to produce deserving people before him everyday,[2] and this practice continued till the last day of his life.

Bulghar Khana

Soon after his accession, in April 1606; Jahangir issued an order to establish free eating houses, "Bulghar-khana" in the whole of his hereditary dominions, both the crown lands and the jagirs, where cooked food might be provided for the poor according to their condition, and residents and travellers both might reap the benefit.[3] Till the end of the sixth year of his reign January 1612, the bulgharkhanas were established in six districts, where free cooked food was distributed among the poor. Jahangir again issued an order to establish bulgharkhanas in the large cities like Ahmedabad, Allahabad, Lahore, Delhi, Agra, etc. Jahangir writes that "Thirty mahalls (districts) had been ordered. Six had already been established and twenty four other districts were now ordered."[4] The above facts present Jahangir as a kind hearted man, who introduced such kind of facilities for the poor of his dominion. This kind of observation shows the prosperity of the dominion. It seems from the account of Jahangir that he took so much interest for the welfare of his poor subjects, that no poor might be perplexed by

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 8; also quoted by Blochman, Calcutta Review, 1869, p. 128.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 10.
3. Ibid, p. 75.
4. Ibid, p. 204.

their poverty and even the traveller might not face any difficulty for their food, while they visited the different part of the country from their residents.

Work for his Subject's Ease

In January 1619, towards the end of the twelvth year of his reign, he saw walls, from 2 1/2 to 3 gaz in length on the road of a village in Gujarat, which were made by the people to get spiritual reward. Jahangir saw fired porter, who placed his burden on the wall and taking some rest, lifted up his burden again with ease and without "assistance from anyone proceeds towards his distination." Being pleased with this peculiar ideas of the people of Gujarat, he issued an order to make walls of this kind in all large cities on the Imperial expense.[1]

Prays for Rain

Further we find Jahangir praying God for rain in Mandu. There was no expectation of rain at that season and people were agitated about that matter. "In consequence of the agitation of the people" writes Jahangir, "I turned by way of supplication to the throne of God and He in His mercy and grace gave such rain that in course of a day and night tanks, pond and rivers became full, and the agitation of the people changed to complete ease."[2] The fact shows his keen interest for his subject's ease and comfort.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 420.
2. Ibid, p. 378.

Protection of the People from Wild Beasts

He protected the people of his dominon even from the wild beasts. So many times wild beasts, such as tiger, lion etc. came to the neighbourhood of the villages or towns, and began to vex the people. Having heard this news, Jahangir, atonce, reached to the spot and released the people from their terror, after killing them.[1] An officer, who was oppressing the people of the subah of Thatta, was recalled to the court by the Emperor on their complain.[2] Thus, we find Jahangir as a true care taker of his subjects, who was always anxious for the ease of them. We are surprised on the opinion of historians on Jahangir, who have presented Jahangir as a luxurous king, while he cared even the small need of his subjects.

Repair of Old Fort, Building and Tank

Jahangir took care of the old forts, buildings and tanks and got repaired them according to their conditions. In twelveth year of his reign, the Kankriya tank build by Qutb-ud-din Muhammad, grandson of Sultan Muhammad. This tank contained the steps of stone rodend which cement was placed. In the middle of the tank, a little garden and some buildings had been built. When Jahangir saw it, most of the buildings had become dilapidated, and there was no place left fit for sit in. Jahangir ordered safi Khan, bakhshi of Gujarat to repair the said tank including garden and buildings at the expense of government. In this way so many old

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 136, 444.
2. Ibid, I, p. 262.

buildings, tanks, wells, were repaired during his reign.

On the basis of the above facts about the public welfare of Jahangir we reach to the point that Jahangir was a generous and benevalent ruler who was always anxious to fulfil the need of his subjects. His interest in charity, building of the walls on roads for public ease, protection of people from the ferror of the wild beasts and the establishment of the Bulgharkhanas; put him among the ablest kings. It is to be noted on the part of the former historians, who had declared him an uncapable and luxurious king, who was always busy in his cups. But how it was possible for a such kind of person, to introduce so many reforms for the ease of his subjects and even for the foreign travellers.

His Internal Policy: Suppression of Rebellion

Jahangir as a ruler was too much careful for the peace and security of his dominion. He showed extra-ordinary courage to establish peace and prosperity. Though since the life time of his father Akbar, many high officers were not satisfied with him and tried to place his son Khusrau on the throne.[1] But when he succeeded his father they encouraged some persons to raise the banner of revolt. During his reign so many disturbances were outbroke by the Princes and the officers, but these were severely crushed by the Imperial order.

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1. Supra, 1st chapter, in connection of Salim before accession.

Revolt of Prince Khusrau

Soon after the accession of Jahngir, his eldest son Khusrau who was claiming his position to the throne, raised the banner of revolt against his father. But Jahangir took keen interest in this affair and his revolt was crushed and he was imprisoned.[1]

Outbreak of Patra

Jahangir says in his memoirs that in 1610, when Afzal Khan, governor of Bihar went to his newly appointed jagir, which was on distance of sixty kos from Patna handing over the fort and the city of Patna in the charge of Shaikh Banarasi and Ciyas Zain Khani, the Diwan of the Subah. An unknown seditious and mischivous man named Qutb, belonging to the people of Uchh came in dress as a begger and dervish in neighbourhood, declared himself Khusrau, escaped from prision. He asked the people for help, saying that after his success they would be minister of his state. He decived them showing his wound on his eyes and collected a number of foot-men and horsemen. When he heard the news of Afzal Khan's absence in Patna, he marched to Patna so hastly that Imperial officers got no time to save the fort and escaped by a wicket gate down to the Ganges to Afzal Khan and the rebel captured the fort. Afzal Khan heard this news of Gorakhpur and hastened towards Patna with his armed force to punish the rebel. Within five days he reached in the neighbourhood of Patna. The rebel Qutb, handing over the charge of town to his loyal officer came forward to encounter with Afzal

1. Infra, Chapter V, Jahangir and his family see Khusrau. pp. 185-201

Khan. After a slight skirmish at the bank of river Punpun, rebel retreated to the fort. Goving to governor's house, they fortified the house and defended themselves for nine hours. But when all his followers were killed he surrendered. To put an end of this affair, Qutb was executed by Afzal Khan on the same day and his followers were imprisoned. Jahangir became annoyed at the cowardic show by Shaikh Banarasi. Mirza Ciyas and other mansabdars. They were summoned to the court, shaved and an order was issued their hair and beards to be cut off, and clothed in women dress, seated on masses and parded through the city of Agra as a warning and example to others.[1]

Revolt of Prince Shahjahan

The revelt of Prince Shahjahan was severely driven away from the boarders of Hindustan by the Imperial army in which Jahangir being annoyed had declared him Bidaulat.[2]

Ramchandra Bundela

Ramchandra Bundela brokeout into revolt as a protest against the excessive partiality shown to his brother, Bir Singh Deo, the murderer of Abul Fazl. He was repressed, captured, and reduced placating the emperor by the gift of his daughter.[3]

Sangram

Sangram, a Zamindar in Bihar, probably encouraged to insurrection by the affairs of Khusrau, was promptly defeated and

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 173-76; Massir-i-Jahangiri, (Khuda Bakhsh MS), 65(b).
2. For detail see chapter V, Rebellion of Shahjahan.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 82-87, 160; Gladwin F. 'Reign of Jahangir', p. 13.

slain in a encounter with Jahangir Quli Khan, Governor of Bihar.[1]

Kanauj and Kalpi

In 1611, Khan Khana was appointed to suppress the disturbances round Kanauj and Kalpi.[2]

Dalpat

In 1613-14, Dalpat was raised in revolt was suppressed by his younger brother Rao Suraj Singh. He was captured and sent to the court, and was punished to death.[3]

Gujarat

A son of Mujaffar Gujrati, unfurled the standard of revolt, in the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad on the intelligence of Akbar's death. But he was, soon crushed.[4]

The Chief of Jaitpur

In 1617 the Chief of Jaitpur gave some trouble in Kishtawar. In his jungles he eluded the pursuit of the Imperialists under Fidai Khan. His followers were surprised and killed the commander's brother, Ruhullah, whose soldiers burnt the neighbouring villages and butchered the villagers. When reduced to extremities, the chief of Jaitpur offered surrender and was graciously favoured to court.[5]

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 82, 83.
2. Ibid, p. 199.
3. Ibid, pp. 259-9.
4. Ibid, pp. 49-50.
5. Ibid, pp. 389, 90, 391-2; Mu (Beveridge), I, pp. 560-61.

Thattah

In 1612, a bitter conflict between the soldiers and the peasants took place. Abdur Razzaq, the bakhshi of the palace was sent to restore order and endeavoured to reconcile his subjects with his soldiers.[1]

Bengal

Jahangir took much interest in the province of Bengal and did not spare any chances for the Afghan rebels to raise their head. During the period of the Sultanate (1206-1526) Bengal was for the most part independent. Babar's conquest of the upper country made Bengal the dumping ground of Afghan. During the reign of Humayun they organised into a confederacy. In 1540 Sher Shah drove the divided Mughals out of India and established Sur dynasty. But on the Mughal restoration in 1556, though Raja Man Singh had conquered Bengal during the reign of Akbar. But the Afghan rebels in Bengal always created problems for the Mughals. This state continued during first three years of Jahangir's reign. Man Singh was replaced by Qutbuddin Khan, in 1606, who met a bloody death in next year. His successor Jahangir Quli Khan; an old man succumbed to the climate within a year,[2] the next governor. Islam Khan was appointed to cope with the increasing confusion. He transferred the seat of governments from Raj Mahal to Dacca,[3] now named Jahangirnagar. Whence he could deal effectively not only Usman rebels,

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 225.
2. Ibid, pp. 78, 192, 208; Iqbalnama, pp. 19-24.
3. Ibid, p. 209; Bengal 'Past and Present 1909-1921', pp. 2-13.

but Maghs also. After submission of refractory zamindars, he turned towards Usman with a mightly force. All attempts was made to induce the Afghan to submit peacefully.[1] After that on 12th March 1612 battle took place between the Afghans and the Imperialists. In this battle Afghan were defeated and took shelter in their fort and their leader Usman, wounded in the battle passed away. Being helpless, the Afghan decided to submit and on Tuesday, 14th March 1612 they submitted and presented fourty nine elephants as an offering. Islam Khan was rewarded with promotion of 6000 zat, and other officers were also promoted.[2] Jahangir pardoned the former tresposes of Afghans, attached to himself by the bounds of bounty, and paid so much attention to the, that they abolished all further sacrifice of life and in reward they received Imperial favour of exalted ranks, and illustrious titles.[3]

Portuguese

On the western coast, the portuguese made a great deal of trouble. The conflicts between the European merchants of various nationalities, English, Dutch and Portuguese, were a source of disturbance to Imperial officers and merchants on the seaboard. Jahangir himself was anxious to maintain a friendly relation with portuguese authorities at Goa. In 1607 he sent Muqarrab Khan,

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 27-8.
2. Ibid, I, pp. 208-215, 230; Iqbalnama pp. 60-63, M.U. (Beveridge), I, p. 210.
3. Nimayatullah 'Makhram-i-Afghani' tr. Dorn. I, p. 184.

accompanied by Father Pinheiro, as ambassador to Goa. However, in 1613, the Portuguese, seized four Imperial ships, loaded with treasure not less than three million at Surat. Being enraged with this deed, the emperor despatched Muqarrub Khan, Governor of Surat, to exact compensation. The Mughal commander skilfully (wisely) negotiated with the English sea-captain, so as to remedy his own naval impotence - the weakest point in the Mughal armour. In this fight Portuguese were severely defeated by the English navy. Most of the Portuguese residing in the Mughal Empire were arrested. All the favours so far extended to the Portuguese missionaries were withdrawn. Their religion and worship were interdicted and the English were oustentatiously favoured at the court. Thus, foiled on all hands the Portuguese opened negotiations for peace and no war took place during reign of Jahangir between Mughals and the Portuguese.[1]

Foreign Policy

Transoxiana

Soon after his accession Jahangir decided to conquer Mawara-n-nar (Transoxiana), the hereditary kingdom of his ancestors to free the face of Hindustan from the rubbish of the factious and rebellions. He decided to go himself with a valiant army and ample treasure to undertake the conquest of that region. But due to the improper action of Khusru (Revolt), it became necessary to pursue

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.),I, pp. 255, 274; Foster, W., Introduction to the Embassy of Thomas Roe, pp. x-xiii, For full list of authorities see Talbot, in J.A.S.B. 1873, pp. 193-208.

him and put an end to that disturbance and he was followed to leave his ambition of conquest of Transoxiana.[1] Though Babar and Humayun regarded the ancestral patronomi as their real home and led many terrible and bloody expedition, in vain. Akbar also entertained some thoughts of annexing the region, but wisely gave up the chemerical idea. But Shahjahan, flourished with glory and prosperity could not resist the templation and wasted thousands of lives and million of rupees in vain attempt.[2] But Beni Prasad[3] in his authoritative work on Jahangir says that Jahangir left the intention of annexing the region wisely; whilst Jahangir himself has written that due to the revolt of Khusru he was followed to leave his ambition. Jahangir says, 'Just at that moment the improper action of Khusru took place, and it became necessary to pursue him and put an end to that disturbance.'[4]

Persia

During the reign of Jahangir the sphere of Mughal Diplomary was confined to the region south of Oxus for which the emperor was sincerely anxious to maintain a friendly relations with the mighty kingdom of Persia. But he was determined to retain Qandahar, which was a bone of connection between the two mighty neighbours for the

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.),I, pp. 89-90, 112.
2. Sir Thomas Holdich's Gates of India, ch. XII-XIV, pp. 411-61, Inayat Khan's Shahjhanama (E.and D.), VII, pp. 76-85. Sarkar, J.N., History of Aurangzeb, Vol. I, ch. V-VI, pp.83-144.
3. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 114.
4. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 89-90.

a century and a half. Jahangir always tried to maintain a friendly relation with the Shah of Persia. He received and honoured the ambassadors of the Shah with presents and himself sent presents through his ambassadors. He also tried to maintain trade relation with Persia.[1] On the other hand Shah of Persian was always looking a chance to bring Qandahar under his possession. But having found the fortress strong, well garrisoned and provisioned, he made an attempt to corrupt the Mughal commandant Mirza Ghazi Beg, but the Beg refused.[2] The Shah by his trick of diplomacy tried to win the confidence of Jahangir. In April 1611 he sent an ambassador, Yadgar Ali, to the Mughal court with offering and letter, repletting a condolences on the death of Akbar and congratulations on accession of Jahangir. The Persian ambassador received an ostentatious reception and resided at court for two years. When he started for Persia in 1613, he was honoured by valuable presents and accompanied by Khan Alam. Second persian Embassy under Muhammad Rizo Beg (March 1615-April 1617) reached India with Shah Abbas letters. But he did in Agra and his cattles and property were duly forwarded to Persia through a persian merchant. Two years later Khan Alam, the Mughal ambassador returned loaded with favours, compliments and presents from the Shah.[3] In December 1620 the Fourth Persian ambassador Zambil Beg reached the Mughal court. He brought and received the usual presents.[4]

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), pp. 193-96, 203, 270, 343, 370, 374; II, 1,9,10,24.
2. M.U. (Beveridge), I, pp. 582-3.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 237-8, 248-9, 284, 299, 310, 336-37, 374, 398; Iqbalnama, 69,89-90; Roe Thomos, 295-7, 300-1,296, 300, 323, 325-26, 36-37, 47, 51,53,57,58,73,74,400, 5, 9, 22. Letters received by East India Company, I, p. 278.
4. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, 178, 186,7, 198, 201-211.

War with Persia 1622

Having seen the attitude of the Shah of Persia, Jahangir neglected the defence of Qandahar. In 1621, the old governor Bahadur Khan was replaced by the young Abdul Aziz Khan. The Imperial army was busy in annexation of Kangra Fort. Taking advantage of the internal squobles of the Mughal empire, the Shah appointed a large force to capture Qandahar.[1] When this news reached to the Mughal court, in March 1622, Shahjahan was appointed to defend Qandahar with all his troops. At the same time another news reached from Khan Jahan, the governor of Multan, that Shah Abbas had actually laid seize to the fort and he had sent another army to attack Thattah. Having heard the news, Jahangir left the pleasant valley of Kashmir to meet the crisis. A gallant force with an immense amount of treasurer for expenses was appointed to defend Qandahar. But all the hopes were dashed to the ground on 29th March, 1922 when Shahjahan proposed that he should be placed on absolute command of the army with full sway over Punjab and that he should be assigned the fort of Ranthambhore for the safe residence of his family.

Jahangir made many efforts to agree Shahjahan for campaign against the Shah, but all went in vain. At last, Shahniyar was appointed to the Qandahar expedition with promotion of 12,000 personal and 8000 horses under the guardianship of Mirza Rustam and Itiqad Khan with Rs. 100,000 as advance of pay to assist the

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 233-4; Iqbalnama, pp. 191-2 English Factories in India, (1622-23), pp. 69,99,112.

military preparation.[1] But the Shah taking advantage of the situation, Shah Jahan's rebellion, captured Qandahar after a seize of forty five days.[2] Shortly after, the persian ambassador Haidar Beg arrived with his master's letter in which Shah had justified his seize on the ground that Qandahar rightly belonged to the persian ruling family and Jahangir ought to have surrendered it to him peaceably, and expressed the hope that there should be no friction between the two sovereigns. Jahangir upbraided the Shah for treachery and meaness and urged on the retributive expedition.[3] Khan Jahn was appointed to the van, with Ali Quli Beg Darman, and other mighty officers. To Prince Parvez, who was governor in Bihar, an urgent message was sent through his vakil to hasten to the court with the army of Bihar. But just at the juncture, news arrived that Shahjahan had gone rebellion and left Mandu with an immense army towards the north.[4] In such situation Jahangir did not took care towards Qandahar. De Laet says "the seize had already lasted for six months when Shah Abas himself arrived at the head of a very large force. On hearing of this Ziahangier came to the conclusion that it was to late to send reign forcements and wrote to the king of Persia saying that he would surrender the city of his own accord. At the same time he sent orders to Assufghan and the other Qmmerdu

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.)II, p. 237.
2. Padshahnama (E.and D.),VII, p. 64. English Factories in India (1622-23), p. 108.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 240-5, The letters which passed between Jahangir and the Shah may read.
4. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 245, 46, 47.

to hand the city over to the Persians. However, Assufghan, suspecting these letters to be forged, refused to carry out the order, whereupon she Abas had the chief bastion undermined and blown up, so that the place would have been captured by arsault, had not Assafghan and the other Ommeran surrendered they were sent home unharmed, together with their troops, by the persians. Having in this manner obtained possession on the town and fortrees. Abas made Colis Ally Khan, governor and then return to his capital Sphan (Isfahan).[1] In the above facts by Jahangir we see that Jahangir was interested in the recovery of Qandahar from the hands of the persians. But due to internal disturbances created by Shah-Jahan he did not devote himself to regain Qandahar and at lost he ordered his officer to surrender the city to the persians.

Europe

Jahangir once thought of sending magnificent embassies to the courts of the king of Spain and Pope of the Rome. He offered a hearty welcome to the English embassies of William Hawkins and Thomas Roe, but could not make himself agree to establish a commercial treaty with English. Following his father, Akbar, he encouraged and protected the Portuguese Jesuit missions from Goa in resisting Portuguese agression.[2] But in January 1615 Jahangir did not took any action against the English, when they defeated

1. De Laet (H.and B.), pp. 200-1.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 215, 255. For Akbar's intention to send embassies to the ruler of Europe Pope, see Nonserrate (H.and B.), pp. 163-4, 184-5; Gladwin, p. 28.

portuguese in the roadstead at the port of Surat. It is to be quoted, "The third peace of news was the defeat of the Warza (Portuguese) who had done his best to take the castle and port of Surat. In road steud of the port of Surat a fight took place between the English, who had taken shelter there, and the viceroy. Most of his ships were burnt by the English fire. Being helpless he had not power to fight any more, and took to flight."[1] Atthe defeat of the Portuguese he showed his pleasure. Jahangir says, "Among the offering of that Madar-us-Saltana there was a throne of gold and silver.... It had been completed in great audacity in the space of three years, and was made at the coast of Rs. 4,50,000. This throne had been made by a skillful European of the name of Hanarmand, who had no rival in the arts of goldsmith and a jeweller, in all sorts of skill (hunar mandi). He had made it well, and I gave him this name."[2] The said European gold smith received presents of 3,000 darb, a horse and an elephant.[3] Thus among the above facts we find that Jahangir had good relations and regard for the Europeans while he marched for the Deccan from Ajmer he close the English cart presented by Thomas Roe.[4] We are not agree with Beni Prasad that Jahangir was proposing to drive the foreigners except portuguese into the sea.[5] Because we seem many other English travellers in the court and Jahangir received their presents.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 274.
2. Ibid, II, p. 80.
3. Ibid, pp. 82-83.
4. Ibid, I, p. 340.
5. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 115.

Mewar

Mewar, the sole remnant of the Rajput independence, which did not surrender during the reign of Akbar, was brought under the Mughal command by Jahangir. Amar Singh of Mewar was devoid the inflinching resolution of Rana Pratap, and Shah Jahan, the third son of Jahangir, compelled him to negotiate for peace. The Rana and his son Karan submitted to the Mughals and recognised the sovereignty of the Empire.[1]

The Deccan

On the Deccan boarder, Jahangir pursued the forward policy of his father and a desultory war dragged on throughout his reign against the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Complete success of the Mughals arms over the forces of Ahmadnagar was not possible, owing partly to the weak conduct of the war by the imperial troops, the kingdom of Ahmadnagar was then ably served by its Abyssilanian minister Malik Amber. On the other hand; the activities of the imperial troops were greatly hampered by continual dissensions among the commanders. The nominal command of the campaigns was given first to Parvez and subsequently to the Prince Khurram. But Abdur-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, and some other chief nobles, really controlled all affairs. They occupied their time more in mutual quarrels than in fighting against the Deccanis. Only a partial success was gained by the Mughals in 1616 A.D., when prince Shah Jahan captured Ahmadnagar and some other strongholds. But the victory of the Mughals over Ahmadnagar was more apparent than real. The Deccan

1. See Chapter IV in connection of Parvez and Khurram.

far from being completely conquered by them. At the time of Shah Jahan's revolt it was free from Mughal command.[1]

Kangra

A notable military success of Jahangir's reign was the capture of the strong fortress in the hills of the north-eastern Punjab on 16th November, 1620.[2]

Other conquests

So many laurels were conquered by Jahangir during his reign. These are - Khokhara annexation in the jungles of Bihar in 1615 A.D.[3] the conquest of Khurd, on the boarder of Orissa and Golkonda in 1617.[4] Kishtawar situated in the south of Kashmir was conquered in March 1620.[5]

In the foreign policy Jahangir followed his father Akbar. From the very beginning of his reign he began to despatch troops to annex the neighbour countries. Except these he regarded the relations of his neighbours which can be seen in the case of Shah Abbas of Persia and the European travellers.

Influence of Nur Jahan

Although historians are generally under the impression that Jahangir's administration was carried on by Nur Jahan Begum after

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1. See chapter IV in connection of Parvez and Khurram.
2. Ibid.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I,p. 315, Gladwin, pp. 34-5.
4. Ibid, p. 433.

her marriage in May 1611 A.D.[1] till the last days of Jahangir. But nowhere in our text, we find that in matters of war and peace and in other important matters of the government, she was taking her independent decision, but she looks always loyal to Jahangir. The role of Nur Jahan Begum in the life and administration of Jahangir can be seen in the following accounts by Jahangir.

Nur Jahan's Love for Jahangir

We find Jahangir referring Nur Jahan Begum in his memoirs in the time of his illness that none was more founder of him than the said Begum. He kept his illness secret from most of those, who were familiar with and near with him, and did not inform this even to the physicians and hakims, except his favourite Begum, "than whom I did not think anyone was fonder of me." During this period he abstained from eating heavy foods and took only light, and worked according to his usual manner.[2] This kind of observation ... makes us confirm that Jahangir had faith in Nurjahan Begum and he regarded her as the best fonder of him.

Nur Jahan Presents Karan

After conquest over Rana, Prince Khurram brought the Mewar Prince Karan to the Mughal court and to please him Jahangir gave him so many presents. When the Mewar Prince went to the darbar in female apartments, there were given to him on the part of Nur Jahan

1. The marriage of Jahangir with Nur Jahan Begam has been discussed in chapter V, Jahangir and his family.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 266.

Begum a rich dress of honour, a jewelled sword, a horse and saddle, and an elephant. This activity of Nur Jahan Begum shows her importance in the female appartment.[1]

Styled By Jahangir

As her name was 'Mehr-un-nisa Begum, before her marriage with Jahangir, she was styled 'Nur Mahal' (light of the palace) and afterword Jahangir ordered that Nur Mahal, Begum to be called Nur Jahan Begum (Light of the World).[2] It is clear from the above fact that Jahangir was such impressed by her personality, that he styled her as the 'light of the world'. This fact also presents her as the most important lady of the harem.

Received Reward from Jahangir
on Her shooting of Tiger

In the twelveth year of Jahangir's reign, while she was enjoying the sports of hunting with him, four tiger came in sight. Nur Jahan Begum submitted that, "if I would order her she herself would kill the tigers with her gun." When she got permission, she shot two tigers with one shot each and knocked over the two others with four shots. "In twinkling of an eye" writes Jahangir, "she deprived of life the bodies of these four tigers." Jahangir says that he never saw such kind of shooting, from the top of an elephant and inside a howdah, six shot was made and no one missed.[3] On her

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 278.
2. Ibid, p. 319.
3. Ibid, p. 375.

shot is "note by Sayyid Ahmad." They say that a poet recited this couplet -

> "Though Nur Jahan be inform a woman in the rank of men she's a tiger slayer."[1]

She received reward from Jahangir for her fine shooting. Jahangir gave her a pair of bracelets (Pahunchi?) of diamonds worth 1,00,000 rupees and scattered 1,000 asharfis over her.[2] Further we refer in the 14th year Nur Jahan shot a tiger with one shot on Jahangir's order, because till that time he had taken a voew not to injure any living being with his own hand.[3] The facts present Nur Jahan Begum as a very fine shot and a brave and courageous lady.

Receives Jagir

In the 12th year of Jahangir's reign an envoy of Prince Khurram, Sayyid Abdullah Barha waited on Jahangir and presented a letter of the Prince, containing news of a victory over the provinces of the Deccan. Jahangir remarks about this victory, "Thanks be to Allah that a territory that had passed out of hand has come back into that the seditious, who had been breadthing the breathe of rebellion and boasting, have turned towards supplication and weakness, and become delivers of properties and payer of tribute." Jahangir was exceedingly glad on this news of victory and as this news reached to him through Nur Jahan Begum, he gave her the Pargan of Boda ashar jagir inwards the revenue of which was 200,000 rupees.[4] It is to be noted that she was the only lady of the harem,

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1. Tuzuk, (R.and B.), I, p.375, n.1.
2. Ibid, p. 375.
3. Ibid, II, p. 105.
4. Ibid, I, p. 380.

who received a jagir separate jagir. But this kind of support of Jahangir to Nur Jahan Begum does not mean that she was the supreme power, as she has been described by all the historians on Jahangir. It is clear that he was impressed with her personality, but she was not the supreme element of the empire.

The Feast of Shab-i-Barat held in Nur Jahan's House

In the twelvth year of Jahangir's reign, on the occasion of the festival, Shab-i-barat, Jahangir held a meeting in one of the houses of the palace of Nur Jahan Begum, which was situated in the midst of a large tanks and invited the Amirs and officers of the court to the feast. The arrangement of the feast was held by Nur Jahan Begum. All the people were permitted to take cups of wine and all kinds of intoxicating drugs according to their desire. Many people asked for cups, and they took their seat according to their mansab and condition on Jahangir's order. All kinds of roast meats, and fruits by way of relish were place before every one. But everything was held according to Jahangir's order. In the beginning of the evening lantems and lamps were lighted round the tanks and buildings in peculiar ways. The lanterns and lamps casted their reflection on the water and it appeared as if the whole surface of the tank was a plain of fire. When three or four ghan's of night passed, the men were dismissed and the ladies were summoned and afterward till one watch (three hours) Jahangir enjoyed there. This festival fell on the day of Thursday, which was accession day and birthday of the Emperor.[1]

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 385-86.

Nur Jahan's Reward on Victory of Shah Jahan

Nur Jahan Begum prepared a feast of Shah Jahan's victory over the Deccan, when he returned to the court, She conferred on him "dresses of honour of great price, with a nadiri with embroidered flowers, hanaar of great price adorned with rare pearls, a sarpich (turban ornament) decorated with rare gems, a turban with fringe of pearls, a wastebelt studded with pearls, a sword with jewelled pardala (belt), a phul katara (dogger), a sada of pearls, with two horses, one of which had a jewelled saddle and a special elephant with two females." In the same manner he bestowed his children and his ladies dresses of honour, nine peaces of cloth with all sorts of gold ornaments and to his chief servants as presents a horse, a dress of honour, and a jewelled dagger. The cost of all the entertainment was about 3,00,000 rupees.[1] The fact declares the importance of Nur Jahan Begum that she was the most important lady of the harem.

Nur Jahan's other Feasts

We learn from our text that Nur Jahan's xaik vakil had built a lofty house, and made a royal garden in Nur Sarai, when Jahangir reached there, she begged for an entertainment and prepared a great feast and by way of offering, with "great pains produced all kinds of delicate and race things." In order to please her, Jahangir took some ofthem, what he approved and halted there for

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 387. This can be said maturnal love of Nur Jahan for Shah Jahan.

two days.[1] It throws light on good relation between a wife and a husband. Jahangir's halting on Nur Jahan requests, and Nur Jahan's presents to Jahangir caused, formerly she was her wife and latter she was a jagirdar under Jahangir. Further we find Nur Jahan Begum, holding the royal entertainment in the celebration of the commencement of 16th year of reign which took place in Nur Afsan garden. Great offerings of jewels, jewelled ornaments and all sorts of precious goods were presented before Jahangir and he approved of the goods of value of rupees 100,000.[2] The feast of the solar weighing of Jahangir was arranged by Nur Jahan Begum.[3] The above facts throws light on Nur Jahan's active life, who was always busy in putting herself loyal to Jahangir, her husband and the Emperor of the dominion.

Shah Shuja Brought up by Nur Jahan

Referring the illness of Shah Shuja, son of Shah Jahan, Jahangir writes that he had so much affection towards him that he was dearer to him than his own life. Jahangir gave him (Shah Shuja), for his bringing up to Nur Jahan Begum.[4] Here it is to be noted that Akbar was also fonder of Shah Jahan and he gave him to his first consert, and chief queen Ruqqaya Begum[5] for his bringing up. The above facts clearly states that Nur Jahan Begum was the chief queen in the harem of Jahangir.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.),II, p. 192.
2. Ibid, p. 199.
3. Ibid, p. 214.
4. Ibid, II, p. 45.
5. Ibid, I, p. 48.

Her Daughter's Marriage

Jahangir demanded Nur Jahan's daughter in marriage for his son Shahryar. In this connection he sent 1,00,000 rupees in cash and gold by the way of sachaq.[1] Thus the marriage of Nur Jahan's daughter with Shahryar, confirms that she was loyal to Jahangir, because being other able sons of Jahangir such as Parvez and Khurram, Nur Jahan became agree on this marriage. But it seems, she became agree only on Jahangir's demand, and on the basis of this fact we can say that Jahangir was the actual sovereign, and Nur Jahan was loyal to him.

Nur Jahan's Relation with Turan

In the seventeen year of the reign of Jahangir, Nur Jahan Begum received a letter containing impression of 'good will' and the dues of acquaintanceship, from the mother of Imam Quli, ruler of Turan. Some rarities from that country were also sent for Nur Jahan. And then Nur Jahan also sent an old attendant of Jahangir, by way of embassy with a letter and with chiced gifts from this country.[2] This fact is clear that Nur Jahan was the Emperor's chief queen, and in her regard, the letter from Imperial family of Turan came with gifts and then Nur Jahan also sent presents to them in reply to establish relations.

Power Entrusts to Nur Jahan

After death of her father Itimadudaullah, Nur Jahan Begum was given the establishment and everything belonging to the govern-

1. Infra, chapter V, pp. 256-57
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 205.

ment and amirship of his father by Jahangir and Jahangir issued an order that her drums and orchastra should to be sounded after that those of king.[1] Thus Nur Jahan was appointed to the chief viezizship of the dominion. Because Nur Jahan Begum was a courageous lady and she showed always her loyalty to Jahangir. Having checked her brilliancy, Jahangir would have decided to appoint her to the post of her father; the chief vizir of his dominion. Being chief vizir of the dominion, really she became more powerful.

Shah Jahan Seized Nur Jahan's Fief

Just after appointment of Nur Jahan to the vizirship of the dominion, some estates of her jagir was taken by Shah Jahan under his own possession, especially the pargana of Dholpur. This was assigned to Shahryar by the High Diwan. Jahangir made an enquiry and ordered Shah Jahan to behave properly and to be content with his own jagir.[2] This is to be noted that when Shah Jahan seize her jagir, it was complained to Jahangir and Jahangir gave final decision. It is improper to say that "No wonder that Nur Jahan soon had the reigns of government in her hands."[3] While Jahangir clearly writes that she was appointed to chief vizir after death of her father. How vizir can be said the supreme power, she had to only to suggest the Emperor. If Nur Jahan had taken the reign of government into her hand, why she had to complain the above mentioned case to Jahangir. She should take action.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 228.
2. Ibid, pp. 235-36.
3. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 171.

Nur Jahan Presented Jahangir

In the 17th year of his reign Jahangir received presents of Nur Jahan of two pearls of worth rupees 60,000. Nur Jahan bought these pearls from a merchant of Turkey, this time Jahangir was encaped at Achdal.[1]

Nur Jahan's Direction to an Officer

When rebellions Shah Jahan, having been defeated near Delhi, turned towards Malwa and Mandu, Nur Jahan wrote a letter to her materinal uncle's son-i-law Mir Husamuddin, to the incharge of the fort of Asir to beaware of Shah Jahan.[2] It is not surprising because Nur Jahan was the chief vizir of the Empire and that man was her subordinate officer and relative also.

Interced for Jagat Singh

Jagat Singh, at instigation of the rebel prince Shah Jahan had taken the northern hill country and was engaged in stirring up sedetion and strife. He had passed over difficult mountains and was plundering the peasantry and weak. But after arrival of the royal army under Sadiq Khan, he retreated to the fort of Mau and protected himself and fought with the royal servants. But when the elevation of his younger brother became a source of disturbance and anxiety to him. Being helpless, he sought for patronage and begged protection of Nur Jahan Begum, expressing shame and contradiction, and sought a refuge in her mediation. "In order to please

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 237.
2. Ibid, p. 277.

and satisfy," writes Jahangir, "the pen of pardon was drawn through the record of his faults."[1]

Murder of Sher Afghan

Qutbu-ud-din Khan Wounded by Sher Afghan

Though Jahangir does not mention Sher Afghan as Nur Jahan's former husband, which is common and found in other sources. But about his activities and his death, what Jahangir writes seems correct. Jahangir informs us that he received a petition of Islam Khan from Agra with a letter, which was sent by Jahangir Quli Khan from Bihar. It was written in the letter that on 30th May 1607, near about 10 a.m., Quli Istajlu had wounded Qutbu-d-din Khan at Bardwan, in the province of Bengal and the Khan died at midnight of the same day.[2]

Sher Afghan's Career

About Quli Istajlu, Jahangir informs us that he was 'surfrachi'[3] to Shah Ismail II, ruler of Iran. After death of the Shah he took to flight through his natural wickedness and habit of making mischief, and came to Qandahar. He met the Khan Khanan at Multan, and went to the province of Tulamba, where the Khan Khanan was appointed. The Khan Khanan placed him among the servants of Akbar. He, having performed services in that campaign was promoted to a rank accordance with his condition, and was a long time in the

① Tuzuk (R and B), I, P 247

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 289.
3. Table-servant.

service of Akbar. When Prince Salim was appointed to invade Rana, he accompanied the prince and the prince styled him 'Shir Afghan'. But during the time of controversies between Akbar and Salim, he had left the Prince's service. Nevertheless, after his accession, Jahangir overlooked his offences and gave him a jagir in the Subah of Bengal. But he could not continue loyal and began to make conspiracies with the rebel Afghans.[1]

Jahangir's Recalls Sher Afghan to Court and His Murder

When Jahangir get the news about Sher Afghan, he sent an order to Qutbu-d-din Khan, governor of Bengal to send him to court, and if he showed any "futile, seditious ideasm to punish him." The aforesaid Khan, went hastily to Bardwan, which was his jagir. He became aware of the Khan's arrival and went out to receive him with two grooms. After he arrived to the Khan, the Khan surrounded him. He deceived the Khan saying, "What proceeding in this of thine?" The Khan, keeping back his own men, joined him alone in order to explain the purport of the Imperial order to him. Having seen his opportunity he immediately drew his sword and wounded the Khan. When the soldiers of the Khan saw him in this position, they attacked Sher Afghan and killed him at the spot.[2]

From the above fact we find Sher Afghan guilty for his own murder, he not only disobeyed the Emperor's order, but killed the governor, and there was no reason to leave him beside killing him. The opinion of many historians that Sher Afghan was murdered

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 113-14.
2. Ibid, pp. 114-15.

on Jahangir's direction, is not correct. Jahangir in his order to Qutbu-d-din Khan had said to send him to the court; and if he showed any futile, seditious ideas, to punish him. It is to be noted that Jahangir had given such order at the time of Khusru's revolt.[1] None of the foreign travellers who visited during Jahangir's reign say that Jahangir had directed Qutbu-d-din Khan to murder Sher Afghan. The blame of the historians that Jahangir fell in love with her during lifetime of Akbar, but Akbar refused to gratify his wishes and induce Mirza Giyas Beg to marry her to Sher Afghan and the disappointed lover, immediately after his accession, got murdered to his rival Sher Afghan, seems an imagination. Because none of the contemporary historian, has mentioned this scandal. Mutamad Khan writes that Jahangir saw Nur Jahan (Nehru-n-nisa), first time in the appartment of Ruqqaya Begum, while she was widow.[2] Thus from the above fact we have no reason to believe that Jahangir was interested to kill Sher Afghan. He was killed only due to his unloyal and seditious behaviour.

Thus, from the above facts given by Jahangir we reach to the point that Nur Jahan Begum was a active, brave and intelligent lady. Her bravery can be seen in her tiger shooting. She was taking much care of her husband as Jahangir writes that none was fonder of him than Nur Jahan Begum. She was always in efforts to please Jahangir by her presents, and loyalty. Her appointment as jagirdar and later on as chief vizir clears that she was taking

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1. See Infra, chapter V, Khusrau's Revolt, p. 187
2. Jahangir saw Nur Jahan first time, in fourth year after her husband's death, see chapter V, in connection of Jahangir's marriage with Nur Jahan. 180

part in government. But nowhere we find that she had captured Jahangir in her grip or was acting as a sovereign, as some historians have written this story. We see her on so many occasions, following the order of Jahangir, such as at tiger hunting she begged order from Jahangir. This is to be noted that if she kept influence over Jahangir, why she agreed to marry her only daughter Ladili Begum with unable Shahryar who was called 'Nasudani', on Jahangir's instruction. She should chose Khurram or Parvez, who were the able sons of the Emperor.

The historians have composed a story that at first she had prepared a party including Shah Jahan, but afterward, there arose controversy between them. It is clear that Shah Jahan was the favourite son of Jahangir, and as Nur Jahan was loyal to Jahangir, the prince was also loyal to her. But when Shah Jahan revolted, she was the chief vizir of the empire and she had to follow the Emperor. Therefore, she engaged herself to crush the rebellion of Shah Jahan and opposed him bitterly.

Thus from abdwe facts we reach to the point that Jahangir was a successful ruler who was punctual in his duties. His love of justice is noteworthy. He took keen interest in affairs of the state and even of his subjects. His internal and external policies may be praised. He suppressed all the revolts occurred in his dominion and always cared for the case of his subjects. As some historians has referred him as a great drunkard, pleasure seeker,

is not correct. Jahangir clearly mentions in his memoirs that few years before his accession he had left hard drinking and after his accession, he took wine only to digest his food.[1] So many reforms in government, society and religion were introduced by him. An unable and luxurious man cannot have such intelligence as we wee in Jahangir. The opening of hospitals, schools and free-eating houses put him among the ablest rulers who always took care of his empire and subjects.

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1. For Jahangir's drinking. See chapter VI, Drinking. pp 274-75

Chapter 5

JAHANGIR AND HIS FAMILY

Wives

In our text we find four legally married wives of Jahangir. Those are, the sister of Raja Man Singh, who later on became the mother of Khusrau,[1] the second lady about whom Jahangir explicitely says that he married her, was the princess of Jesalmer, daughter of Rawal Bhim,[2] the third lady was the daughter of Jagat Singh, eldest son of Raja Man Singh[3] and the fourth lady whom Jahangir married was the famous Nurjahan Begum.[4]

Shah Begum

The details of his first marriage with Man Singh's sister are found in our text that in his adolescent Jahangir married her. In this connection he further says that she gave birth to his two children - Sultanu-nisa Begum and Khusrau, and after birth of Khusrau, she was given the title of "Shah Begum" by Jahangir, then Salim.[5] Abul Fazl gives us details of this union. We are told that Raja Bhagwan Das offered this young lady in marriage to Prince Salim. It was the wish of the bride's family which was given respect by Akbar, so the marriage took place. So far as the celebration of the marriage concerned, Abul Fazl does not tells us that whether the marriage was performed in Hindu rites or Muslim rites. We simply learn from him that on the very day of the marriage the 'bridal night' took place and the bride was united with the prince.[6]

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 15.
2. Ibid, pp. 325-26.
3. Ibid, pp. 144-45.
4. Ibid, II, p. 214.
5. Ibid, I, pp. 15, 55, 56.
6. A.N. (Beveridge), III, p. 678.

Badauni tells us that the marriage was performed in the presence of the Qazis and the nibles.[1] In consideration of these facts, we must say that the authors[2] who have written that this marriage, though performed in the presence of Muslim Qazis, but with certain characteristics Hindu ceremony. These authors have based their observation on the account of Abdul Fazl and Badauni, but these author have not stated that some Hindu rites were observed in this marriage. We can simply say that though, there is no proof at our disposal; some Hindu rites might have been performed. Our sources are however, silent about it. The lady who was later on given the title of 'Shah Begum' after the birth of her son Khusrau,[3] was burried according to Muslim manner, after her death at Allahabad. So in all probability this marriage was performed according to Muslim rites at the time she must have been converted to Islam. The legal validity of this marriage also required this conservation. And it is from Jahangir's memoirs that we come to know that this lady put an end to her life by taking poison, being herself unable to bear the mental agony accused by the inflicts of her brother Madho Singh to help Khusrau against the Prince Salim.[4] Salim's great grief at the death of this first wife is noticed in his memoirs. He says that for four days continuously he took no food or drink. We also learn from Jahangir that she was a very devoted wife to her husband. The facts collected from the memoirs of Jahangir and Abul Fazl present a super picture of this lady who personified, feminine purity with remarkable beauty. Her extreme

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1. Badauni (Lowe), II, p. 352.
2. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 26; Smith, Akbar the Great Mughal, p. 225.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 55-56.
4. Ibid.

to her husband might have led her to that stage where her nerves failed to bear the strain and she put an end to her earthly existence. Jahangir's sincere love for Shah Begum is noticed in the text. With the reference to the troubles created by the intringues hatched by his son Khusrau and his brother-in-law Madho Singh, Jahangir describes the pathetic mental condition of Shah Begum. The lady was so deeply devoted to Jahangir that she could not tolerate any more the agony for the uncertain future of her husband and killed herself by swallowing opium. In this connection it is to be noted what Jahangir says "what shall I write of her excellencies and goodness? She had perfect intelligence, and her devotion to me was such that she would have sacrificed a thousand sons and brothers for one hair of mine. She constantly wrote to Khusrau and urged him to be sincere and affectionate to me."[1] In these words of Jahangir we find the portrait of an extremely tender and soft hearted lady, who preventy tried to stop the feud between the sone and husband, and appealed to the rebellions son to be kind and friendly to his father. Jahangir's above words reflect his sincere regard and affection for this wife.

Children of Shah Begum

As regards the children of Shah Begum we learn from our text that she gave birth to two children, a daughter who was the eldest

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 55-56.

and who was named Sultanu-n-nisa Begum,[1] and a son, who was named Khusrau, was born "two years and two months before Parvez" in August 1587 A.D.[2]

Malika Jahan, the Second Wife

Jahangir married the daughter of Rawal Bhim, elder brother of Raja Kalyan of Jesalmir, while he was a prince and that lady was given the title of 'Malika Jahan'.[3] On the basis of the fact given in the accounts of Xavier Maclagan, an author[4] on Jahangir has written that this lady was the daughter of Raja Kalyan of Jaisalmir. But Jahangir himself has written that this lady was the niece of Raja Kalyan. In this connection one should place more reliance on Jahangir's statement, since he was the man who married her. As we do not find any accounts from any sources about her offspring, therefore we reach to the point that she was childless.

Marriage with the Grand Daughter of Raja Man Singh

In the third year of his reign Jahangir married the daughter of Jagat Singh, eldest son of Raja Man Singh. Jahangir himself had demanded the lady in marriage and he had sent 80,000 rupees to

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 15 only says that she was his eldest child. But A.N. (text), p.493 gives the Illahi date 16th Urbihist 994, which workout to April 26, 1586 of her birth. D. Price, p. 20, says that she was a year older than Khusru and died at Agra in 1646 and was buried at Sikandara, in the tomb of Akbar, See also Padshahnama, II, pp. 603-4.
2. Tuzuk R.and B.), I, p. 19, Abul Fazl agrees with Jahangir. Nizamuddin (E.and D.), V, p. 456, places Khusrau's birth in the year 1588 A.D. (996 A.H.), seems a strange.
3. Tuzuk R(.and B.), I, pp. 325-26, see also Ain I, Blochman, p. 323. But the wrongly says that she has not been mentioned by Jahangir in his memoirs.
4. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 28, n.8.

to Raja Man Singh along with the marriage proposal. The marriage took place in the house of 'Her Highness' Maryam Zamani. Among the things sent with the bride by Raja Man Singh were sixty elephants.[1] Though Jahangir, it seems, was very much interested in this young lady, we do not find any mention of this marriage than this in other contemporary sources. Jahangir does not give any accounts of her offsprings, which presents the fact that she bore no child.

Marriage with Famous Nur Jahan

Jahangir refers to his marriage with Nur Jahan casually in his memoirs. In connection with the description of the feast of his solar weighing '25th Shawal AH 1030', (September 2, 1621), he says that Nurjahan, since she entered into marriage bond with him had arranged such feast in a excellent manner.[2] It is somewhat surprising that though Nurjahan Begum was so important in the life of Jahangir, Jahangir has not cared to mention or describe his marriage with her, earlier. We are, however, informed that this marriage took place towards the end of the month of May 1611, This fact has been gleaned by H. Beveridge from a note of Jahangir.[3] So far as the contemporary sources are concerned, we find in 'Iqbalnama' that in the sixth year of his reign, Jahangir was capitvated by the charm of Nurjahan (Mehrunissa) at that time on 'New years Day' and he included her amongst the inmates of his selected harem.[4] About this marriage De Laet gives the details.

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 144-45, seel also Ain I (Blochman),p.323.
2. Ibid, II, p. 214.
3. Ibid, I, p. 192, n.1.
4. Iqbalnama (E.and D.), VI, pp. 404-5.

He writes that after the murder of her husband, Mehirunissa was sent to the court with her only daughter and was committed to the care of the queen mother, Ruqayya Begum. After sometimes Ruqayya Begum took the lady with her into the Mahal (the king's seraglio). The king came in, and on learning that she was present, though veiled loosened her veil with his own hand, and gazed at her face. A few days later, whilst the festival of the New Year was being celebrated after the fashion of Mohematans, and whilst the king was enjoying himself amongst his concubines, Meher-Metzia brought to him her little daughter, then six or seven years old. Being by this time deeply in love with Meher-Metzia the King exclaimed with smile,'I will be father to this child'. Meher-Metzia replied, 'who am I that I should be numbered amongst the king's wives? Your Majesty must disregard me, who am but a poor widow. Only take pity on this child, and show kindness to her'. After this the king fell so passionately in love with Meher-Metzia that he repaired in a boat every evening to the house of Etha-mandaulat, and only returned to the palace at dawn.... After going to and fro to see her for forty nights, the king instructed Godzia Abul Hasan to demand the hand of Meher-Metzia for him from Ethamandaulat, for he was determined to make her his wife.... On receiving it Ethamandaulat came and prostrated himself before the king after customary fashion, professed his unworthiness, and declared that he and his daughter should be at king's disposal. Finally, an auspicious day, having been selected, the King married her before the Cazi."[1] De Laet also says that Jahangir had been in love with

1. De Laet, (H.and B.), pp. 181-82.

her when she was still maiden, during the lifetime of Akbar, but she had already been betrothed to the Turk Sher Afghan, and hence Akbar would not allow him to marry her and he never entirely lost his love for her.[1] Mr. David price also supports De Laet and tells the same story. But except no other sources tell anything about this. What is the fact we do not know but from the above facts we are determined that Jahangir married the lady Mehru-n-nisa, later styled Nurjhan Begum. About this lady Jahangir says that no one was fonder of him more than her.[2]

Other Ladies

Jagat Gosain

As regards Jagat Gosain, the princess of Jadhpur, who became the mother of Khurram, Jahangir does not say clearly if he married her in a regular form. But he refers her as the mother of his favourite son Khurram.[3]

Sahib-i-Jamal

Regarding Sahib-i-Jamal, cousin of Zain Khan Koka. Jahangir is not clear that whether he regularly married her or he took her as an inmate of the harem. He simply says that she gave birth to his son, who was named Parvez.[4] But David Price in his work 'Private Memoirs of Emperor Jahangir' says that she gave birth to

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1. De Laet (H.and B.), p. 181.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 266.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 19. David Price, p. 35, strangely says that she gave birth to Shahriyat also, and Jahangir says that Shariyar was born of a concumbine, Tuzuk (R.and B.),I,p.20.
4. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 18-19.

his son Jahandar.[1] It is noteworthy that Jahangir in his memoirs says that Jahandar was born of a concubine of the harem.[2]

Karamasi

About Karamasi, he says that she belonged to Rathore clan and she gave birth to a daughter who was given the name of Bihar Banu Begum.[3] David Price says the lady Karmithy' and in connection of daughter wrongly says that she died after two months.[4] Bihar Banu Begum was born in Sept, 1590 and was married to Tahmuras, son of Prince Damial in his 20th year.[5]

Except this above mentioned ladies, Jahangir refers to his two concubines, who gave birth to his two sons Shahryar and Jahandar respectively.[6] The daughter of Ramchandra Bundela was taken by Jahangir 'in his service' at the request of her father.[7] Out of these six ladies, the first three were in all probability his inmates of the harem, as he has not explacitely mentioned that he had married them. Because in the case of the last two ladies he clearly states that they were his concubines. So far as the daughter of Ramchandra Bundela is concerned, it is not clear, whether he had taken that lady as a slave or a personal attendant

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1. D. Price, p. 35.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 20.
3. Ibid, p. 19.
4. David Price, p. 20.
5. Tuzuk (Muhammad Hadi's continuation), p. 400.
6. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 20.
7. Ibid, p. 160.

or concubine. But since she was a daughter of Rajput noble, it seems Jahangir puts the hard fact that she was taken by him as a concubine in a polished language. There is no mention of any other lady in his memoirs, who enjoyed the status of a wife or an inmate of the harem of Jahangir.

It is noteworthy that Jahangir does not state if he married the mother of Parvez and mother of Khurram in a regular manner. It is to be remembered that Khurram and Parvez were his favourite sons. But he does not say anything about the marriage of their respective mothers, whereas he gives the details of his marriages with the grand daughter of Raja Man Singh, daughter of Rawal Bhim and Nur Jahan Begum. Thus, it will not be wrong to infur that his marriages with the mothers of Prince Parvez and Prince Khurram were not done in full regular form.

Whatever matter we find about his marital relations in his memoirs have been given above. But on the basis of the information collected from other sources an author[1] has given a large number of his married wives in his authoritative work on Jahangir on the basis of the accounts of Xavier Maclagan. Here it seems that the author and his authority were not acquainted with the difference between wife and inmate of the harem. Because to whom they were related clearly states about his four married wives as a true follower of Islamic law of marriage, according to which one Muslim can marry only four wives.[2] Jahangir's own statement should

1. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, pp. 28, n.8 and 29.
2. Quran, Part IV, Sura, 4, Ruk. I.

be accepted as correct fact instead of the other writers and foreign travellers.

His Son Khusrau

Intrangement with Jahangir

"Khusrau, the eldest son was instigated by his maternal uncles Man Singh and Madho Singh to go against Jahangir. This is what we find in our text.[1] Further facts regarding Khusrau, and his party are discussed earlier in this work till the accession of Jahangir.[2] Nevertheless, Jahangir after his accession pardoned Khusrau and gave him one lakh of rupees to rebuilt the house of Munim Khan the former Kahn Khana for his own residence.[3] But in spite of this kind regard. Khusrau did not give up his rebellions attitude and soon after the accession of Jahangir, on April 6, 1606, at night (about 7 p.m.) he left the court with pretending to see the tomb of his grandfather Akbar and went off with 350 horsemen, who were his adherents. When Jahangir heard this news through Amir-us-Umara, he ordered so many officers to pursue him in all direction and himself also pursued him.[4]

When Khusrau arrived Mathura, he met Husain Beg Badakhshi, who was coming from Kabul to the court. Khusrau, according to the temperament of the Badakhshi to be seditious and turbulent, regarded this meeting as a godsent, and made Husain Beg the captain and guide of 200 or 300 Badakhshan. Aimaqs who were the him.[5] Anyone

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 55-56.
2. Supra, Chapter II, pp. 86-87
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p.12.
4. Ibid, pp. 52, 53, 54.
5. Ibid, pp. 54, 55.

whom they met, they plundered of horses and goods. Merchants and conveyers of goods were plundered by them and the wives and children were not safe on their ways. These all oppression were practiced before Khurram. Plundering the country round and seizing all available horses they rushed on.

Flying past Delhi, burning the Sarai of Narela, they were joined by Abdur Rahim, Diwan of Lahore, who was invested with the title of Anwar Khan by the Prince.[1]

Blessed by Guru Arjun

In the way at Taran Taran, in Govindval, Khusrau halted at the place of Guru Arjun and the Guru behaved to Khusrau in certain special ways and marked the qiska or tika on Khusrau's forehead.[2]

At Lahore

Thence the prince reached Lahore, the capital of Punjab, but found that it had been put into defence of Governor, Dilawar Khan. After vain attempts to dissuade Abdur Rahim from treachery, Dilawar had galloped headlong from Panipat, warned the people on the way, and preceded Khusrau by two days, in the city. He repaired the rampart and towers mounted canon and swivel guns, and prepared for a seize. His garrison was soon reinforced by the arrival of

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 53-55, 59.
2. Intakhab-i-Jahangiri (E.and D.), VI, p. 448.

(2) Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, P. 72.

of Said Khan, who found the news of revolt, when he was encamped on the Chenab his way to Kashmir.[1] Khusrau tried to capture the fort of Lahore and invaded the fort. His untrained soldiers had burnt one of the outer gates, but Dlawar promptly threw up a wall and defeated all designs of an assault. The prince had sat a vain for 9 days and he got the news of the arrival of the Imperial army, who was at striking distance.[2]

Jahangir's Pursuit to Khusrau

When Jahangir heard the news that Khusrau had escaped, he appointed Amir-ul-Umara, the messanger of the news to pursue him. When Amir-ul-Umara asked "what he should do," if the worst came to the worst. Jahangir replied that "Kingsship knew no Kingship," and he had fullest powers of treating the prince as the situation demanded. But on second thought, Jahangir transferred the command of pursuing Khusrau to the force of Shaikh Farid. It was believed that Khusrau would fly to Raja Man Singh in Bengal, but the scouts soon discovered with certainty that he had taken the Punjab road. It was then suspected that he would seek shelter in the Uzbegs or Persians, and an immediate pursuit was resolved on.[3] Early next morning an order was issued that Prince Parvez should come with Asaf Khan and a body of force to Agra, leaving some sardars to look

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 62, Iqbalnama, pp. 10, 10.
2. Ibid, p. 62; Iqbalnama, p. 11.
3. Ibid, I, p. 54, n.2. Khafi Khan I, p. 250; he was put to death, unless the expression claws of death' is merely rhetorical. The Massir-i-Jahangiri, p. 334, says he was imprisoned.

after the affairs of Rana. The emperor himself started the pursuit of Khusrau at the head of a large contingent. The city was put in charge of Wazir-ul-Mulk and Itimadudaullah. At Sikandara, Mirza Hasan, son of Mirza Shahrukh was captured, who had proposed to accompany Khusrau. When he was presented before the emperor, he could not deny it and the emperor ordered to tie his hands and mount him on elephants.[1] On 8th April the Imperialists encamped at Hodal.[2] Here Dost Mohammad was replaced by Itimadudaullah and the former took charge of Agra. An advance guard set off under Shaikh Farid, followed by the emperor at short distance. Farid could not accompany the emperor, in full speed, but his rivals Sharif Khan and Mahabat Khan charged him with luke wormness and even treachery. Pursuing the same route as Khusrau had taken, Farid reached Sultanpur, on the Beyas. Khusrau left a detachment at Beas and himself came to offer a battle at the head of ten thousand men. Jahangir made an attempt, sending Mir Bakhshi Vairowal Jamaluddin Husain to persude Khusrau to submit, but it failed.[3]

Battle at Vairowal

A battle was fought in Vairowal, between the rebel and the

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 54, n.2. Khafi Khan I, p. 250, he was put to death, unless the expression 'claws of death' is merely rhetorical. The Massir-i-Jahangiri, p. 334, says he was imprisoned.
2. Hodal lies in modern district of Gourgan in Punjab, see Ain, Jarret, II, pp. 96, 317.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 52,53,54,57,63,64,70,73-74. Iqbalnama, pp. 9,10,11, Gladwin, Reign of Jahangir, p. 6.

the Imperialists. The engagement was short, bloody, and decisive. The Sayyids of Barha, who formed the van, mere fifty or sixty in number and were cut to piece by the 1500 rebel Badakhshis horsemen. But when the men of the right wing raised the cry Padshah Salamat and charged; the rebel hearing the words, gave up and scattered abroad various hiding places. About 400 Aimaqus became crushed on the plain of anger and, were overcome by the Imperial army. Khusrau's box of jewels and precious thing which had always with him, fell into Imperialist's hands.[1]

Khusrau Escapes

The prince escaped with Abdur Rahim, Husain Beg and some chief surviving adherents. When he reached to the bank of Chenab, his men became divided in opinion. The Afghans and Indians, who were mostly his old retainers, wished to "double back like boxes into Hindustan, and to become a source of rebellion and trouble there." But Husain Beg, whose people and family and treasure were in direction of Kabul, suggested going to Kabul. Finally, action was taken according to the wish of Husain Beg, "the Hindustani and Afghans" decided to separate themselves from him. On the other hand, Jahangir had appointed Raja Baso, a trusty zamindar of the hill country of Lahore, to that frontier to capture Khusrau if he might come, Mahabat Khan and Mirza Ali to pursue Khusrau in whatever direction he might go, and himself that if Khusrau went to Kabul, he might follow him and not turn back till he was captured.

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 64, 65; Iqbalnama, pp. 13, 14.

All the Kraris and Chaudharis and Jagirdars were on the alert.[1]

Khusrau Captured

On arriving at the Chenab, Khusrau proposed to cross at the ferry of Shahpur, which was one of the recognized crossings, but finding no boat there, moved off to Sodharah[2], where they saw two boats, one without boatmen, and another laden with firewood and grass. An order was already issued from the king forbidding unknown men from crossing in the night and that they must be careful. The ferries and fords were strongly guarded. Husain Beg attempted to transfere the men from the boat with fire wood and grass to the other, so that he might convey Khusrau across. But he was interrupted by the arrival of Kilan, son-in-law of Kamal, Chaudhari of Sodharah, who gave the alarm. A crowd gathered on the bank. Neither money nor treats would induce the boatmen to ferry the distressed party over. Hearing the news, Abdul Qasim Namkin appeared on the scene with a mounted guard. The rebels hastly took the boat themselves and rowed down till they ran around in the early hours of morn. By this time Abul Qasim and Khwaja Khizra Khan fortified the west bank by the efforts of Hilal Khan and the zamindars fortified on the east. As the day dawned, the Imperialists got into the river "on elephants and in boats" and captured Khusrau

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 65-66; Iqbalnama, pp. 13, 14.
2. Sodharat lies in the modern district of Gujarawala, see Jarret, II, p. 110.

with his adherents. Abul Qasim Namkin conveyed them at once under a strong escort to the city of Gujarat.[1]

Khusrau Brought before the Emperor

Jahangir heard the news of Khusrau's capture in the garden of Mirza Kamran at Lahore and immediately ordered Amil-ul-Umara to fetch the captives. On May 1st (Muharram 3rd, 1015 AH), "in Mirza Kamran's garden; they brought Khusrau before me with his hands tied and chains on his legs from the left side after the manner and custom of Chingiz Khan. They made Husain Beg stand on his right hand and Abdu-r-Rahim on his left." Khusrau was weeping and trembling between them. Husain Beg attempted to clear himself but was ordered to keep silent.[2]

Punishment of the Rebels

Khusrau was put into confinement in chains and barbarous punishments were meted out to the Prince's followers. Husain Beg and Abdu-r-Rahim were ordered to be put in the skins of an ox and an ass respectively, and that they should be mounted on asses with their faces to the tail and thus taken round the city of Lahore. As the ox hide dried more quickly than that of the ass, Husain Beg, could not remain alive and after four hours died from suffocation. But Abdu-r-Rahim, who was in the ass's skin and was

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 66-67; see also Iqbalnama, p. 14. Gladwin, Reign of Jahangir, pp. 8-9.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 67-68, see also Iqbalnama, p. 16.

given some refreshment from outside, remained alive. And the other rebellion in words of Jahangir: "For the sake of good government I ordered post to be set up on both sides of the road from the garden to city, and ordered them to hang up and impale the seditious Aimaqs and other who had taken part in the rebellion." Thus, each one of them received exta-ordinary punishment." The officers and zamindars, who showed loyalty were rewarded by the Emperor "to every one Chaudharis between the Jhelam and Chenab, I gave lands for their support."[1] Two of his followers received milder punishments, who had taken advantage of his revolt to plander the people of Lahore. Amba was let off a fine of Rs.15,000 which was distributed in charity and Raju was put to death.[2]

Guru Arjun Punished

Guru Arjun[3] was a considered in the 'garments of sainthood and sancity "by both the Hindus and Muslmans of the neighbourhood by his ways and manners and "they had loudly sounded the drum of his name." He was called Guru and people crowded to worship and manifested complete faith in him. Many times Jahangir desired to

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 68-69; Iqbalnama, p. 116, also says that Abdur-Rahim was pardoned and restored to his old dignities, after an intense suffering of 24 hours on request of his courtier friends.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 73; Iqbalnama, p. 17, Tod, II, p.273 says that after the revolt Jahangir inflicted on Man Singh a enormous fine of ten crores of rupees.
3. Guru Arjun was the fifth Guru of the Sikhs and the compiler of the Granth. He was the father of Har Govind. See Sayyid Muhammad Latif's History of Punjab, p. 253, Arjun's tomb in Lahore, Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 172, n. 1.

stop his affairs and to bring him into "the assembly of the people of Islam." And when Jahangir found him guilty in supporting Khusrau he ordered his officers to produce him and to hand over his house, dwelling places; and children to Murtaza Khan. After confiscating his property, he was put to death by the Emperor's order.[1]

Khusrau plot to kill Jahangir

We learn from the text that in his prison Khusrau had a plot to kill Jahangir, sending a band of his supporters while he was on his hunting in Kabul. But this plan failed because one of the attendents of that group divulged the plan to the Diwan of Khusrau and this news reached to Jahangir and 'the men of Khusrau were arrested, and received punishment of various kinds.[2] Even after this horrible incident Jahangir's paternal love remained for him. Jahangir writes, "Although Khusrau had repeatedly done evil action and deserved a thousand kinds of punishment, my fatherly affection did not permit me to take his life. Although in the laws of government and the ways of empire one should take notice of such disapproved deeds, I averted my eyes from his faults, and kept him in excessive comfort and ease."[3] Here we find Jahangir's deep love for Khusrau who in his desire for the throne, who could be so unscrupulous to make repeated attempts on the life of a father. But Jahangir explicitly says that he in no way had harmed Khusrau or had wronged him in any manner.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 72-73.
2. Ibid, pp. 122-23.
3. Ibid, p. 122.

Khusrau Gets Permission to Pay Respect
But soon Prohibited

In 1614 A.D. after a long period of eight years of imprisonment of Khusrau. Jahangir's fatherly feeling aroused on hearing of Khusrau's mother and sisters, who repeatedly represented that he (Khusrau) was repentent of his deeds and he permitted Khusrau to come every day to pay his respects to him.[1] But Jahangir did not saw him of openness and happiness on his appearance. He looked always mornful and defected mind. Therefore, after a few days Jahangir prohibited him from paying his respects.[2]

Khusrau Handed Over to Asaf Khan

In the tenth year of his reign (Oct. 1616) Khusrau, who was in the charge of or safe keeping, of Anirai Singh Dalan, was handed over to Asaf Khan for certain considerations.[3]

Khusrau Released

In the fourteenth year of his reign Jahangir felt that Khusrau was in imprisonment for many years, Jahangir felt that to keep him longer in confinement and deprive him of "the good fortune of waiting on me, would be wanting in kindness." He called Khusrau and freed him from salutation and forgave all his offences, and expected that Khusrau would be loyal to him. As Khusrau was taken back to his favour, he expected that Khusrau would give up his

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 252.
2. Ibid, p. 261.
3. Ibid, p. 336.

previous disloyalty and would serve him obediently. Even at this late stage Jahangir was expecting that Khusrau would give up his previous conducts and would establish a sincere cordial relationship with him.[1]

Did Khusrau Blended?

Though Jahangir has not mentioned in his memoirs that Khusrau was blinded, nevertheless his accounts about Qutb, makes us suspicious. Jahangir writes in his memoirs that a rebel named Qutb in Patna presented to be Khusrau and he was telling the public that he was Khusrau; he had escaped from prison and conveyed himself there. He was showing some signs on his eyes to convince the public of the fact that he was Khusrau himself and that there were signs on his eyes for the attempts to blind him. He said to the public that cups were fastened on his eyes to destroy his eyesight.[2] This episode tends to support the theory that Jahangir blinded or attempted to blind Khusrau. But no final proof is found to establish conclusively this kind of charge against Jahangir. But from accounts of foreign travellers we get different opinions. Taverneir says Khusrau was blinded. Du Jarric also tells us that Jahangir blinded Khusrau on his way back from Kabul, when he came to the place where Khusrau had fought the battle. He was blinded by some juice of a plant being poured into his eyes. The juice resembled milk. One of his captains, who was also a judge, was likewise

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 207.
2. Ibid, pp. 173-174.

blinded there along with his son. William Finch, too, speaks of his outbreak. He also says that Khusrau was reported to have been blinded on the battle field with a glass. Another story was that Jahangir merely caused a handker chief to be tied over his eyes and had it sealed with his own seal.[1] It is mentioned in Whiteway's, "Rise of Portuguese Power in India," that fifteen relatives of the king of Ormuz had been blinded by red-hot bowls having been passed close to their eyes.[2] Beveridge[3] inclines to accept the story, mainly because the imposter who afterwards personated the prince pretended that he had marks of the blinding. This, however, was a very natural artifice, given the prevailing impression; and against such an argument may be set the fact that Sir Thomas Roe, who both saw and talked with the Prince in 1617, makes no mention of any injury to his sight, and moreover speaks of him as destined to succeed to the throne - an event hardly to be contemplated in the case of a blind man. Terry's accounts supports the suspicion on Jahangir, Terry who saw the Prince more than once, says explicitly that "his eyes were sealed up (by smonthing put before them which might not be taken off) for the space of three years; after which time that seal was taken away;" and this agrees with one of the rumours noted by Finch. Della Valle's version is that the eyes were sewn up for a time, without injuring the sight.[4] On the basis of the above facts we reach to the point that till the certain time, the prince's eyes were sealed up, but he was not made blind.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 174, n.1.
2. Whiteway's, Rise of Portuguese Power in India, p. 165.
3. Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 39, p. 597.
4. William Foster, Early Travels in India (1583-1619), p. 160.

The story given in Elliot's history of India that the prince was deprieved of his sight by having a wire thrust into his eyes, but that his vision was afterwards restored by the skill of a surgeon, is not only improbable in itself but is obviously an attempt to reconcile the current belief in the blinding with the fact that Khusrau could see quite well in later years.[1] It may be noted, Mundy has a tale that one eye was "eaten out with apply eight to it a certain venenous hearb," but fixed the date of this as a little before the prince's murder in 1622.[2] The accounts of Jahangir about Qutb, clears the fact that Khusrau was not blinded. The sign on his eyes was showing by Qutb to the people to prove himself that he was Khusrau. His saying that cups were fastened on his eyes supports the fact given by Terry and Finch. But here we do not get any clear information that Khusrau was blinded and finally reach to the point that it is only rumours that Khusrau was blinded by the Emperor's order. It seems that after capture of Khusrau the officers might had taken him from Gujarat to Lahore in Kamran's garden before Jahangir, with bandage on his eyes, so that he might not disturb them or escape from their capture.

Khusrau's Death

We find Khusrau mentioned for the last time in the text when he breathed his lost to on 8th Isfandarmuz 1031 AH, corresponding February 16, 1622, Jahangir received the news from Khurram

1. E.and D.), VI, p. 448.
2. William Foster, Early Travels in India (1583-1619), p. 160; see also Mundy, p. 107.

that Khusrau had died of the disease of colic pain."[1] Here we are not agree with Beveridge[2] that he died on 20th Bahman, because Jahangir has clearly written that he died on 8th Isfandarmuz. Beveridge writes that the name of the month is not mentioned seems surprising. In connection of this fact Jahangir clearly mentioned the month. His accounts are following: "On the first of the Divine month of Isfandarmuz I gave the establishment and every thing.... On the 4th of the same month.... At this time report came from Khurram that Khusrau, on 8th of the month had died of the disease of colic pains."[3] We are amazed on Beveridge who writes the date of Khusrau's death 20th Bahman, without any authority[4] and further writes that the date of his death has not be enquired determined.[5] While Jahangir has clearly mentioned the date of his death 8th Isfandarmuz 1031 AH.

Did Khusrau Die a Natural Death

None of the contemporary Indian historians supportes the accounts given by the foreigners, who say that Khusrau was killed by his younger brother, Khurram or by his order. The differences of opinions about the death by the foreigners make us suspicious that they were not acquainted of the actual fact. Beal[6] states

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 228, see also Iqbalanama, p. 191, the same statement.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 228, n.4.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid, n.4.
5. Beveridge, Jl. of Royal Asiatic Society for 1907, p. 601.
6. Beat "his biographical Oriental Dictionary, p. 220, also see Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 308, n. 4.

that Khusrau was strangled by a man named Raja by order of Shah Jahan. De Laet's accounts based on contemporary public opinion unanimously believed Shah Jahan guilty of Khusrau's murder. De Laet writes, "Xa-Ziahan, who was at Burhampur, and was acting as Jailor of his brother Gousrou, began to make a plot whereby he might be able to get rid of his brother without incurring the suspicion of having murdered him. He took into his confidence Ganganna and his most faithful Ommerau, and then departed on a hunting expedition. His slave Reza, who had been commissioned to commit the crime, knockedat the door of prince. Gousrou's bedroom, pretending that he and the companions whom he had brought with him were the bearers of robes and letters from the king and that they had infructions to set the prince at liberty. The prince did not believe this story. However, Reza broke open the door, struck down the prince, who was unarmed, strangled him, placed his corpse back on the bed, and shut the door once more. At dawn the wife of the prince, who was the daughter of Gan Azem, entered the bedroom and finding her husband dead filled the whole palace with the strikes. There was general morning for the prince's ultimately death, and for a space no suspicion that he had been murdered."[1] But the further accounts of De Laet makes us suspicious. He writes that when Shah Jahan returned to the city, he sent letters to his father announcing his brother's death; making all the Omerau's and Mansabdars add their signature to these letters. But Nabab 'Nourdien Coulie' who was

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1. De Laet, (H. and B.), pp. 198-199.

in Burhampur at the time, wrote a full account to the Emperor what was actually happened and on receiving the news the Emperor mourned deeply and wrote most bitterly reprimanding the Ommerau, asking why they did not inform him about Khusrau's illness.[1] Here it is surprising that if Jahangir received the actual fact why he did believe on the letters of the officers. The later accounts of De Laet supports the accounts of Jahangir that he died from illness and it seems the actual fact. The former account seems only rumours.

Though the letters of the English servants established in India clearly blame Khurram with Khusrau's murder. Even the Foreign travellers supported the story. Terry asserts plainly that Khurram 'strangled that most gallant prince, his brother." Pelsaert writes in 1627 "Sultan Khusrau was assassinated by his brother Sultan Khurram in the year 1621." The contemporary German traveller, Von poser, also refers in explicit terms to Khurram's "fratricide of Khusrau."[2] But these foreigner's accounts are based on only rumours. It is noteworthy fact from Incyclopadea. Islam, that he died at Asirgarh near Burhampur, in the Deccan and it was in all probability his sister had his body burried in the Khsrau Bghat Allahabad.[3] If his body was taken to Allahabad, how it is possible that Jahangir remained unknown of the fact about his murder. Since Jahangir admit himself that he got Abul Fazl murdered why he should have remain silent in this matter. Further we have

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1. De Laet (H.and B.), p. 199.
2. The Encyclopadea Islam, II, p. 980; see also De Laet (H.and B.), p. 199.
3. Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 1907, p. 599.

already noticed previous in this chapter that Khusrau was in prisonment for fifteen years and he was sad and morose; Jahangir clearly says in his memoirs that he had gone weak in health and possibly his death in colic pain is not fabricated late but real fact. We find the coroboration of the fact in Iqbalnama also. We are agree with Mr. Beveridges contention that "there is no evidence worthy of the name that Khusrau was poisoned or strangled."[1] The opinion of an author[2] seems improper. He writes: "Nothing can be inferred from the silence of Jahangir and Mutamad Khan the former would hardly mention a deed for which ultimately he must be held partly responsible. The later was a courtier of Shah Jahan." He gives reference of last accounts of Khafi Khan that Shah Jahan murdered Khusrau. How one can refer the lost sources without checking. His opinion about Jahangir does not seem suitable, because there look no reason for Jahangir to hide the fact about Khusrau's death. The other reference[3] presented by the author is a letter from Aurangzeb to Shah Jahan during the later's captivity reminds him of his murder of Khusrau and Parvez. But during the time Aurangzeb himself was accused, we do not need to accept the theory. There were so many historians except Jahangir and Mutamad Khan, but none of the Muslim historians throws light on this fact.

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1. Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 1907, p. 599.
2. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 308, n. 4.
3. Ibid, quoted from Sarkar's History of Aurangzeb, III, p. 155.

Sons and Daughters of Khusrau

Before the accession of Jahangir, a daughter was born to Khusrau. The astrologers had predicted that she would be unauspicious for his father but auspicious for her grand father. It was also an advice of the astrologers that she was to be seen by Jahangir after three years from her birth. Accordingly Jahangir sent for the girl and when the baby girl was brought to him he found her too much similar in appearance to her father.[1] In the third year of Jahangir's reign, a son was born to Khusrau by the daughter of Khan Azam and the infant was named 'Buland Akhtar' by Jahangir.[2] In the tenth year of the reign, another son was born to Khusrau by the daughter of Muqim Khan.[3] Except these above mentioned children, Jahangir does not inform us about other children.

As Jahangir refers to Dawar Bakhsh, the son of Khusrau, seems, his second son, by daughter of Muqim Khan. This said son was appointed to the government of Gujarat, under tutorship of Khan Azam the Prince received Imperial favours and presents.[4]

His Son Parvez

Born of an inmate of the harem, Sahib-i-Jamal on October 2, 1589, Parvez was the second son of Jahangir in whom Jahangir had perfect confidence. We learn from the text that while Jahangir was a prince, his confident servant, whom Jahangir had entrusted his own 'uzuk seal' was sent to Bihar, and Jahangir entrusted that

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 149.
2. Ibid, p. 153, see also Ain, I, (Blochman), p. 324.
3. Ibid, p. 321, see also Ain I (Blochman), p. 324.
4. Ibid, II, p. 260.

seat to Parvez.[1]

Parvez and Rana

Sent to Invade Mewar

Soon after his accession Jahangir appointed Parvez to invade the territories of Rana of Mewar at the head of 20,000 horsemen with nobles and chief leaders, under the guardianship of Asaf Khan. Abdul Razzad Mamuri and Makhbar Beg, maternal uncle of Asaf Khan were appointed Bakhshi and Diwan respectively to Parvez. Raja Jagannath, sone of Raja Biharimal, who held the rank of 5000 and Rana Shankar, cousion of Rana Amar Singh were also appointed to add their contingent to the force.[2] Prince Parvez was prohibitted by the Emperor to do any injury to Rana's territories after his submission with his son to prefer service and obedience.[3]

Recalled to the Court

But soon after, in April 1606, at the time of Khusrau's rebellion Parvez was ordered to come to the court with Asaf Khan, leaving Raja Jagannath and some chief officers to look the affairs of Rana. Jahangir says that there was no actual governor between Afghanistan and Agra which was a source of sedition and mischief, and fearing that Khusrau's rebellion might be prolonged. Parvez was directed to consider the protection and management of that region in his special charge.[4]

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 18.
2. Ibid, pp. 16-17.
3. Ibid, p. 26.
4. Ibid, p. 170.

Parvez and the Deccan

Appointed to the Deccan

After his accession Jahangir adopted his father's policy to invade the Deccan, but due to revolt of Khusrau and seize of Qandahar, he was forced to prospond the programme for a while. But in 1608 A.D., Khan Khana was appointed with 12,000 horse and 100,000 rupees for expense to the Deccan on his own proposal, to clear out the disturbances in the subah of Nizamul Mulk, which had come after the death of late King Akbar.[1] But Jahangir could not satisfy himself to send only the Khan Khana to conquer the region. In 1608 A.D. he despatched Prince Parvez to conquer the country of the Deccan at the head of a large army. Twenty lakhs rupees were given for the expenses of the army and five lakhs for the private expense of the prince. The prince was appointed to the governorship of the province of Khandesh and Berar. All the sardars and Amirs, appointed with them were presented a horse, a robe of honour, an elephant, a sword, and a jewelled dagger according to their condition. One thousand ahadis were also appointed to be in attendance on the prince's service in the Deccan. He was also conferred the fort of Asir, and 300 horses to distribute among his officers.[2] It is to be noted that Prince Parvez was appointed to the Deccan after Khan Khana's report writing that, "I do not complete this service in the course of two years, I shall be guilty

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 149; Maasir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS), p. 60(a).
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 149-153; Iqbalnama, pp. 34-35.

(of a fault), on the condition that in addition to that subah 12,000 more horse with 100,000 rupees should be sent with me."[1] Soon after, the prince's despatch Jahangir sent an another force containing 193 Mansabdars and 46 ahadis and fifty horses to convey to the prince.[2]

Condition of the Deccan

Before prince's arrival to Burhampur the Khan Khana reported that the Deccanis had assembled together and were making disturbances. When this news reached to the Jahangir, he felt that the nomination of prince Parvez and the army, appointed to the Deccan, were still in need of support and assistance, and proposed to go himself to the Deccan. A petition came from Asaf Khan that "my coming there would be for the advantage of the daily increasing state" and Jahangir decided to go to the Deccan to support the prince. At the same time, another petition came from Adil Khan[3] that "if one of the trusted ones of the Court could be appointed there to whom he could tell his desires and claims, so that the envoy might become the means of affording, profit to these slaves."[4]

Khan Jahan sent to Support Parvez

On the petition of Adil Khan, Jahangir consulted with the Amirs and loyal men for further programme. At last it was decided that if so many Amirs had gone for the conquest of the Deccan, the emperor should not go personally, Khan Jahan Lodi, was despatched

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 149.
2. Ibid, p. 158.
3. Adil Khan was ruler of Bijapura, see Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 161.
4. Ibid.

with Imperial favour to support the prince according to his own proposal, accompanied by gallant officers like Bir Singh Deo, Shajaat Khan, and Raja Bikramjit, who commanded more than 4000 or 5000 horse. Mutamad Khan was appointed the Sazawal to act with Khan Jahan. Out of these men 6,000 or 7,000 horse were sent with him under Saif Khan Barha, Haji-Bi-Uzbeg, and Salamullah Arab. Muhammad Beg was appointed pay master of the army and was given 10,00,000 rupees for the expense. All received the imperial reward and increase. Jahangir sent rewards for the Prince, the Khan Khana and the officers also who were appointed to this service formerly.[1]

Defeat of the Mughals and loose of Ahmadnagar

On his arrival at Burhampur Khan Jahan found that Khan Khana advancing from Burhampur, attacked the enemy during the rains without sufficient provisions, and refusing the better judgement of his staff, had made dash into Ahmadnagar. Malik Amber, a clever commandar, avoided the piched battle and sent his light Maratha horse to harass the enemies. They lured the Mughals in huge hills and difficult passes and cut-off their supplies and strugglers. The Khan Khanan was loudly accused by the Mughal strugglers officers of incapacity, rashness and treachury and his plan was thwarted and he was forced to sign a disgraceful treaty and retreated to Burhamput, which caused the loss of Ahmadnagar.[2]

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1. Adil Khan, Op.cit., pp. 161-62; Iqbalnama, pp. 38-39. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I,
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 162-63; Iqbalnamal, pp. 38-39.

Khan Jahan in the Deccan

On his arrival Khan Jahan joined in accusations against the Khan-Khana, suggested his recall and his own appointment to the chief command and promised the conquest of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur within two years. Jahangir believed on his proposals and appointed the Khan Azam to assist him and Muhabat Khan to enquire into the recent disastor and escort the Khan Khana to the court. The former confidence was lost in Jahangir for the Khankhana and he received the Khan-Khanan with every mark of coldness.[1]

Fruitless Efforts to Seize Ahmadnagar

The Imperialists settled a programme to seize Ahmadnagar. It was decided that Abdullah Khan should start from the direction of Nasik and Trimbak with the army of Gujarat and the Amirs, such as Raja Ram Das, Khan Alam, Saif Khan, Ali Mardan Bahadur, Zafar Khan and other servants. The number of army reached to 14,000. From the other side of Berar, Raja Man Singh, Khan Jahan, the Amir-ul-Umara, and many other leaders should proceed. Both armies should be aware of each other's marches and halts, so that on appointed day they might catch the enemy between the two. But Abdullah Khan, having passed the Ghats, and entered the enemy's country, but being relied on his own strength, he did not follow the settlement. He did not cared to send runners to bring runners from other army. On the other hand, the ambitious and gallant

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 178-80; Gladwin Reign of Jahangir, p.22.

Amber had sent a large number of leaders and Marathas against them, who used to throw rockets and fire work at night. When they found no intelligence from other army, which had reached Daulatabad. The Deccanis came nearer and increased their numbers daily till at last made an attack and throwing rockets and other fireworks, made them helpless. The Imperialists were forced to retreat, having lost many of their gallant officers either killed or captured. The Deccanis pursued them to their own boarders. The army of Abdullah Khan retreated to Gujarat and as to informed other army to retreat, who retired to Adilabad to Parvez and the plan failed.[1]

Khan Khanan's Reappointment to the Deccan

Having heard the conditions of the army appointed in the Deccan, Jahangir was greatly agitated and proposed to go himself to punish the servants who had become masters. But the Amirs and other devoted officers would in no way consent to this and it was decided on proposal of Khwaja Abul Hasan, that no one had a former grasp of the Deccan problems and no one was better fitted to solve them than the Khan Khana, who had been unjustly accused of treachery. Being agreed, with the determination, the Khan Khanan was again appointed to the supreme command of the Deccan, accompanied by Abul Hasan and received promotion of 6,000 and presents of a dress of honour, a jewelled dagger, a special elephant, and an Iraqi horse. His sons were also promoted and bestowed mansabs.[2]

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 219-21; Iqbalnama, pp. 65-66.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 241-42.

Khan Khanan in the Deccan

The Khan Khanan was accompanied by his son on his proposal. When he reappeared to the Deccan, he made efforts to end the disagreement and inflamed their mutual animosities and in result several captains accompanied Shah Nawaz Khan, who commanded the Mughal campat Balapur. On the other hand, the main body of Maratha army of Amber was not satisfied with him. Although they showed the intention of being loyal and were begging for quarter from Shah Nawaz Khan. Shah Nawaz Khan bestowed each of them a horse, an elephant, money and dress of honour, according to their condition and quality and being made them hot in duty and loyalty; started against the rebel Amber. On the road they routed an army of the Deccanis.

Skirmish

When Amber heard the arrival of the Mughals decided to make a war. Having collected the rebels who were with him and Adil Khan's army, together with Qutbul-mulk, prepared the artellery and started to encounter with the Mughals, who were on a distance of six kos. On Sunday, 25 Bahman, the army reached before the Mughals and afternoon, near about 3 p.m. canon and rocket firing began. The battle hardly continued for less than two hours. In the end of Imperial vanguard led by Darab Khan, including the zelous captains, such as, Raja Bir Singh Deo, Ray Chand, Ali Khan the Tatar and Jahangir Quli Beg joined the Imperialists and hastly attacked the

enemy's centre. The Deccanis were broken at last and they scattered in all directions. Having pursued them two or three kos, the Imperialists captured many of their leaders, the whole of their artillery, with 300 laden camels that carried rockets, war elephants, Arab and persian horses, weapons and armour beyond reckoning and returned to the camp at night. Next day they proceeded to Khirki and stayed their for a few days, razed the noble's buildings to the ground and burnt the city and returned through the Rohan Khanda pass to their camp. The officers who showed zeal and bravery, their mansabs were increased in reward.[1]

Parvez's Recall from the Deccan and Appointed to Allahabad

Jahangir could not be satisfied with the command and leading of the army appointed to the Decan under Prince Parvez, and ordered him to take charge of the subah of Allahabad which was in the centre of the dominion, so that in his absence he might guard the administration of that region.[2]

Parvez Appointed to Bihar

In the beginning of sixteenth year of his reign (March 1621), Jahangir transferred Prince Parvez from the subah of Allahabad to the governorship of Bihar. The prince was given a special dress of honour, with a jewelled belt, which contained a sappire and several rubies.[3]

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 312-14. Thomas Roe, says a strange story that the Khan Khanan 'doubtless was a practiser with the Deccanis from whom he received pension?"
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 329.
3. Ibid, II, p. 200.

Appointed against Rebellion Shah Jahan

When Shah Jahan had gone rebellion, Prince Parvez was called from Bihar. Jahangir writes, that after usual salutations and customary ceremonies, he embraced the prince with "greatest pleasure and affection and loaded him with more and more favours." He was promoted to the mansab of 40,000 and 30,000 horse and was appointed with gallant officers and Amirs to overthrow Shah Jahan. "The reigns of authority over the powerful prince and the centre of the ordering of the victorious army, were given into the hand of Mu'taminu-d-daulah Mohabat Khan."[1] A special dress of honour was bestowed on the prince, with a nadiri of gold, brocade, and pearls on the collar and skirt worth Rs. 41,000, prepared in the royal establishment, and a private elephant of the name Ratan Gaj, ten female elephants, a private horse, and a jewelled sword, the value of the whole of which was 77,000. Nur Jahan Begum also gave him a dress of honour, a horse, and an elephant, according the custom.[2] The skirmishes between both the prince will discussed in detail further in this chapter under the heading Shah Jahan's Rebellion.

Special Dress for Parvez

To pay his respects, the prince, prayed for a particular dress from his father, which he desired to wear at the time of his meeting with his father in the Imperial court. Jahangir writes, "that he wanted "special nadiridress of honour, a chira, and a fota,

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.),II , pp. 258, 259, 260.
2. Ibid, II, p. 260.

so that he might wear them and be distinguished on the day of meeting me and having the good fortune to pay his respect." According to his request, Jahangir sent a sumptuous dress of honour with a chira and a special sash' by the hand of the prince's vakil.[1]

The Prince's Marriages

Jahangir refers two marriages of the prince in his memoirs. The first marriage of the prince was performed with the daughter of Murad, younger brother of Jahangir. Jahangir had sent 130,000 rupees as a marriage present (sachaq) for the bride. In this connection Jahangir says that she had been betrothed to Parvez.[2] Jahangir refers to another marriage of Parvez with the daughter of Raja Gaz Singh, performed in March 1624. In connection of this marriage Jahangir expresses his hope that the coming of this lady would be auspicious for the state.[3]

The Prince's Sons and Daughters

Sultan Dur-andish

A son was born to the prince by the daughter of Shah Murad, in 1615 A.D. in the city of Burhampur. The infant was named 'Sultan-Dur-andish' by his grand father.[4] But the child could not live long and died at Agra in the age of five years. He was very attached and affectionate to his father. The prince was exceedingly grieved

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 90-91.
2. Ibid, I, p. 78.
3. Ibid, II, p. 295.
4. Ibid, I, p. 279.

and wounded at heart at this event. Jahangir writes that, "In order to console and please him, I sent him gracious letters, and covered over the deadly wound of his heart with the blame of affection and kindness. I hope that God, the great and glorious, may grant him patience and resignation, for in this kind of calamities, there can be no better driver away of grief than endurance and resignation."[1]

Another son was born to the Prince by the same wife, the daughter of shah Murad in 1618 A.D. Jahangir expressed his happiness on his birth and hoped that "his coming will be of good omen to this state."[2]

All the above facts assure Jahangir's sincere love and care for his son Parvez and throw light on the attachment of Jahangir for the said son and his family.

Khurram

Bringing up

Khurram, the third son of Jahangir, was brought up by Ruqqaya Sultan Begum, the daughter of Hindal Mirza, and a favourite wife of Akbar. The child Khurram was handed over to the said Begum by Akbar himself for his upbringing. We learn from Jahangir that the Begum loved him very much and he emphasizes upon this point by saying that the Begum loved Khurram "Thousand times more than if he had been her own."[3]

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 110.
2. Ibid, p. 19.
3. Ibid, I, p. 48.

Jagir

After his accession, Jahangir invested Khurram with Imperial honour and bestowed him a jagir in the neighbourhood of Ujaini and a mansab of 8000 personal and 5,000 horse in March 1607. It is interesting that Khurram at the time, was just a young boy thirteen years.[1]

Weighing

Jahangir says that it was a practice introduced by Akbar to have himself weighed twice every year according to solar and Lunar year respectively and to have princes weighed according to Solar year. According to this practice, Prince Khurram was weighed against gold, silver and other metals on 29th July 1607 (6th Rabi-ul-akhir 1016 A.D.)[2] and the emperor passed his day in "enjoyment and pleasure in the house of Baba Khurram." Jahangir has referred to weighing of Khurram on four occasions. These are in the 10th year of his reign while the prince had possed 24 years of his age,[3] in the 12th year of his reign, while the prince was 27 years of old,[4] and in the 13th year of his reign while the Prince was 28 years old.[5] In this connection we see special care of Jahangir for Khurram. He does not refer to the weighing of his other sons.

Khurram was offered Wine by Jahangir

We find in the text that on this occasion of his weighing

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 87, 132.
2. Ibid, p. 115.
3. Ibid, p. 306 "the 25th, on Friday, the weighing of my son Khurram took place."
4. Ibid, p. 424.
5. Ibid, II, p. 68.

of his 24th year, the prince was offered wine by his father. Jahangir writes, that "up to the present year, when he is 24 years old, and is married and has children, he has never defiled himself with drinking. On this day, when the assembly for his weighing was held, I said to him, 'Baba, thow hast become the father of children, and kings and king's sones have drunk wine. Today, which is the day of thy being weighed, I will give thee wine to drink it on feast days and at the time of the New Year, and at all great festivals. But thou must observe the path of moderation, for wisemen do not consider it right to drink to such an extent as to destroy the understanding and it is necessary that from drinking only profit should be derived." Here we also see a special affection for the prince. He further says that 'with much trouble wine was given to him.'[1] This kind of affection is not found for other children.

Khusrau's Plot Brought to Light

The prince, Khurram, had care for his father. When his elder brother Khusrau from his imprisonment, made a plot to kill Jahangir, sending some wicked persons during his hunting hours ~~in~~ in Kabul. But when the Prince received this news through his officer Khwaja Waisi, he informed Jahangir about this plot and thus the plan of Khusrau was failed.[2] This fact has been already discussed previously in this chapter in connection of Khusrau.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 306-7.
2. Ibid, p. 123.

The Prince's New Year's Offering to Jahangir

On the occasion of Eighth New Year's celebration of Jahangir's reign, the prince requested for the presence of the Emperor in his house, so that he might present his New Year's offerings from that place. At his request Jahangir went to his house and stayed for one day and one night, and the prince presented his offering. According to the usual manner Jahangir approved some one and the rest were given back to the Prince.

The Prince sent to Akbar's Tomb

In the eighth year of his reign, on (9th Amurdad', which was day of Akbar's anniversary, the Prince was sent by Jahangir to the venerated tomb of Akbar to arrange the assemblage. Jahangir says that every year on this day of death of his father or those who were dear to him, according to circumstances and ability food and all kinds of perfumes were prepared and the learned men, respectable and other men assembled. These assemblies, sometimes lasted for a week. This year he sent the prince to the venerated tomb of late King Akbar to arrange the assemblage and 10,000 rupees were given to ten other loyal servants to distribute among the faqirs and the needy persons.[1]

The Prince's Promotion

On the occasion of Sixth New Year's Feast after his accession, Jahangir increased the Prince's allowance from 8000 personal

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 70, 74; Iqbalnama, p. 17.

and 5,000 horses to that of 10,000 personal and 5,000 horse,[1] and later on in the seventh year of his reign (in April 1612), his mansab was raised to 12,000 from 10,000.[2]

The Prince Khurram and Mewar

The condition of Mewar

At the time recall of prince Parvez and Asaf Khan from Mewar due to Khusrau's rebellion, a truce was concluded near Mandalgarh by Asaf Khan, where Amar Singh was represented by Prince Bagha before prince Parvez. Prince Parvez, learning Raja Jagannath and most of the chiefs of his army, came to the court with Asaf Khan and prince Bagha and thus ended the first scene of the drama. Two years later, in 1608, another force of 12,000, fully armed cavalry, 500 ahadis, 2,000 musketters, sixty elephants, eighty pieces of small artillery mounted on camels and elephants, with a sum of twenty lakhs of rupees, for expenses, was sent under the command of Mohabat Khan. The said Khan wasted the plain country and forced the enemy to seek shelter in the hills and jungles, slaying twenty of their nobles and capturing about 3,000 of their soliders. But while success learned to the Mughals in more than one isolated engagement, they failed to make head against the forest covered hills and valleys of Kashmir, nor they effectually meet the guerilla tatics of the foe and in 1609, Mohabat Khan was replaced by Abdullah Khan.[3] Abdullah Khan pursued the Rana in the hill country

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 145; F. Gladwin, Reign of Jahangir, p.17.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp.147,151; Gladwin,Reign of Jahangir,p.17,1
3. Tuzul (R.and B.), p. 155.

and captured several of his horses and elephants. But when night came on Rana escaped, saving his life. He was continuously pursuing the Rana, but the exgencies of the Deccan war led the Emperor to transfer him to Gujarat, with promotion of 5,000 personal and Raja Basu was appointed to Mewar. But he was suspected of secret complicity with the enemy, and was soon superseded by Mirza Aziz Koka,[1] who was deprived of his rank and Jagir and Kept under surveillience due to his disloyalty. He had written a letter to Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh and it was seized.[2]

Khurram to the Mewar Campaign

Disgusted from the Deccan situation, Khan Azam requested and obtained the command of Mewar front. On his advice, in 1613 A.D., the Emperor established his camp and court at Ajmer[3] and at his request prince Khurram was appointed to Mewar expedition at the head of 12,000 cavalry with Fidai Khan as paymaster in 1614 A.D. 'I presented him', writes Jahangir, "with a qaba of gold brocade with jewelled flowers and pearls round the flowers, a brocaded turban with strings of pearls, a gold woven sash with chains of pearls, one of my private elephants called Fath Gaj with a special horse, a jewelled sword and a jewelled Khapwa with a full Katara."[4]

Khan Azam in Mewar

When the prince reached, he could not be satisfied himself with the unworthy manner of Khan Azam, who probably regarded himself

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 155, 157, 200,234; M.U. (Beveridge), I, pp. 97-8, 329-392-97.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 79-81, 138; ~~Ibid, p. 253~~.
3. Iqbalnama, p. 72, Gladwin, Reign of Jahangir, p. 28.
4. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 256.

as the prince's guardian. The prince complained to the Emperor of his act. He was reminded that he had at his own persistent on treaty been deputed on the Mewar expedition; that he (the Emperor) himself had moved from Agra and piched his camp at Ajmer at his own suggestion, that prince Khurram had been despatched at his own request, that, in short, everything had been arranged according to his own consel. He should refrain from quarrels and disagreement with the Prince and "show loyalty and approved goodwill, and never be neglectful day or night of his duty." Otherwise, "he must know that there would be mischief,"[1] But he would not go back from his folly and determination, and when the Prince saw that his being in the affair was a cause of disturbance, he kept him under observation and represented that he was in no way fitting, and he was "acting thus, and spoiling matters simply on account of the connection he had with Khusrau." He was brought by Muhabat Khan from Udaipur and his children and dependents by Muhammad Taqi from Mandesar, to the Court, on the Emperor's order. He was handed over to Asaf Khan to put in comfortable confinement in the fort of Gwalior.[2] But after sometime Jahangir was suggested by Akbar in his dream to forgive him. The late king Akbar said to me, 'Baba; forgive for my sake the fault of Aziz Khan, who is now Khan Azam.' Recalling from Gwalior,fort, all his offences were pardoned and he was released. Jahangir gave him a shawl, which was 'round his waste.'[3]

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 257-68; Iqbalnama, p. 73.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 258, 261; Iqbalnama, p. 74.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 269, 287.

The Prince's Activities in Mewar

In spite of burning heats, excessive rains, and wild forests, the prince persisted the operations and he captured eighteen elephants of Rana Amar Singh including Alam Giman, to which the Rana was very fond. He also assured Jahangir that Rana himself would soon be taken. Being helpless, Rana petitioned to the prince to recognize the Mughal supermacy, to wait on the prince, and to send his son Karan to the court, while he proposed that he himself should be excused from coming to court. Rana's messengers, his maternal uncle Subh Kharan and Hardas Jhala were despatched to Jahangir at Ajmer with the Diwan Mulla Shukrullah and major domo Sundar Das for the acceptance of the conditions proposed. Jahangir became very happy with the news that the Rana and his father never been seen obeyed to any king of Hindustan, was submitting before him. At the request of the prince, he forgave the Rana's offences and issued a farman, impressing it with the mark of his own auspicious palen and authorised the prince to conclude a treaty.[1]

Khurram conclude a Treaty with Rana Amar Singh

The prince despatched Mulla Shukrullah and Sundar Das with Rajput messengers to Rana to console him and to make him hopeful of the Imperial favour. It was settled that Rana with his sons should meet the prince on the 26th Bahman (Sunday). Rana duly came with his hundred adherents, and paid his respect in usual

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 273-74; Iqbalnama, pp. 70-77; Badshah-name, Inayatullah (E.and D.), VII, p. 103; De Laet, (H.and B.), p. 186; Massir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh M.S.), 103(a).

manners presenting a famous large ruby with some decorated articles, seven elephants of his private use, and nine horses and received perfect kindness with superb dress of honour, a jewelled sword, a horse with jewelled saddle and a private elephant with silver housings. His men were also honoured and 100 sarupa, 50 horses and 12 jewelled daggers were given to them.[1]

Karan Pay His Respect to Khurram

According to the customs of zamindars, that heir apparent should not accompany his father to pay his respect to a king or prince. Therefore after Rana's departure his son Karan came and paid his respects and received a Imperial honour of a jewelled sword and a dagger, a horse with gold saddle and a special elephant and at the same evening Prince Khurram, taking Karan in attendance left for Ajmer.[2]

Welcome of Khurram

When the prince reached near Ajmer, all the amirs went to meet him and presented according to their conditions and when the prince reached to the court to pay his respects and to perform his prostrations and salutations, he presented 1,000 asharfás, and 1,000 rupees by way of offering and 1,000 muhrs by way of charity; Jahangir called and embraced him, and kissed his head and face with special

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 274,75,76, Tod, pp. 256-91; De Laet (H.and B.), p. 187, says Karan arrival to the prince.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 276, The coroboration of Mewar campaign may be seen in M.U. (Beveridge), I, pp. 283, 319, 399, 414-457, 587; Do Laet (H.and B.), p. 187. But he says nothing about Amar Singh.

kindness and greetings. The prince petitioned that Karan might be exalted with good fortune of prostrating and paying his respects. After prostrations and salutations, at the request of the prince, Karan received good honour in the court. His seat was placed on the right hand of the circle. Jahangir presented him a special dress of honour, a special horse with a jewelled saddle, jewelled sword, a special elephant. Jahangir always tried to win his heart, presenting new things. Nurjahan Begum also gave Karan a dress of honour, a jewelled sword, a horse and 'saddle and an elephant.[1]

Khurram Presented Ruby to Jahangir

Jahangir refers that he went to house of the Prince Khurram and stayed there till 9 p.m. The prince presented his second offering. Among his first offerings when the prince had paid his respects was a celebrated ruby of the Rana valued at 60,000 rupees. The weight of this ruby was eight tanks.[2] About the history of the ruby Jahangir says that it was formerly in the possession of Raja Maldeo Rathore. After his death his son Chandarsen in his evil days sold it to Rana Uday Singh of Mewar. Since then it continued under the possession of Mewar Kings. And it was presented to Prince Khurram, on the day that on which Rana Amar Singh paid his respects to Khurram.[3]

Khurram Promoted to Equal Rank with Parvez

In the tenth year of his reign, after Khurram's retreat from Mewar conquest, Jahangir promoted Khurram from 12,000 personnel

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 277-78.
2. According to Gladwin, 96 tanks = one sir. Four mashas make a tank; and a masha is about 18 grains troy. See Ibid, p. 285, n.1.
3. Ibid, p. 285.

and 6,000 horse to that of 15,000 personal and 8,000 horse, equal to prince Parvez. He says 'I ordered his mansab to be made equal with that of Parvez, besides other rewards.'[1]

Khurram's Promotion

And soon after in April 1616, the celebration of 11th New Year, Prince Khurram presented a ruby of the 'purest water' and brilliancy, which was of the value of 80,000 rupees, to his father (Jahangir) and his mansab was increased from 15,000 personal and 8,000 horse to that of 20,000 personal and 10,000 horse.[2]

Khurram is Appointed to the Deccan

Jahangir appointed so many officers, to invade the Deccan states. But they did not produce satisfactory results. Even Prince Parvez could not handle the Deccan campaign. Then Jahangir ordered prince Parvez to take charge of the Subah of Allahabad and prince Khurram was appointed to the Deccan with the title of 'Shah Sultan Khurram' and 'special power to represent the king'. Being entrusted with the Imperial honour, towards the end of October 1616, Prince Khurram started for the Deccan at the head of a splendid train of nobles and troopers.[3]

Jahangir himself went to the Deccan (Mandu)

Here we notice that having enquired the situation of the Deccan, Jahangir himself decided to follow the prince to see the

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 258.
2. Ibid, p. 320.
3. Ibid, pp. 329, 338-39. See also Iqbalnama, pp. 90-91.

affairs of the Deccan. On Tuesday, November 10, 1616 at precise hour of nearly 4 p.m., fixed by the astrologers according to Indian custom he mounted on the Frank carriage and left Ajmer for the Deccan.[1] After a leisurely journey of four months, he entered Mandu on Monday, March 6, 1617 and took abode in splendid buildings, which were recently rebuilt out of the old remains by the architect Abdul Karim for the purpose of a cost of three lakhs rupees.[2]

Shah Khurram's affairs in the Deccan

On March 6, 1617, the prince entered the city of Burhanpur. He had already sent Afzal Khan and Raja Ray Rayan from Ajmer to Adit Khan with a definite offer of peace on payment of tribute and restoration of the lost territory. Having heard the advent of the prince and the Emperor himself, Adil Khan came out for 7 kos to meet the order and letter of the prince and performed the duties of salutation and respect according to customary at court. At the same time he professed the greatest loyalty and promised to restore and those provinces, taken by Amber from the Mughals, and agreed to send an offering with him ambassadors to the court. All the territory of Balaghat, recently seized by Amber added to the Mughals and the kings of the fort of Ahmadnagar and other strongholds were formally delivered. The emperor became so much happy to get the information through Nurjahan that he bestowed the Pargana of Bada worth 2,00,000 rupees asher jagir.[3]

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 329, 338-39; Iqbalnama, pp. 90-91, Thomas Roe pp. 319-20, But Roe blames the Khan Khanan as the practiser with the Deccanis from whom he received pension, pp. 278-9.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 329, 339-40.
3. Ibid, pp. 368-381, 382; Iqbalnamah, pp. 99-101.

Offering from Adil Khan

After a few days later the prince informed Jahangir about the arrival of Afzal Khan, Ray Rayan and the ambassadors of Adil Khan "with suitable offerings of jewels, jewelled things, elephants and horses, offerings such as had never come in any reign or any time" and expressing much gratitude for the services and loyalty of the aforesaid Khan and his faithfulness in his words and duty. The prince also requested that Adil Khan might be bestowed the title of 'Farzand' (a son) of the emperor. Accordingly the Munshi prepared a farman in the name of Adil Khan, conveying every kind of affection and favour. In the body of the farman the emperor wrote the verse with his own hand -

"Thou'st become, at Shah Khurram's request,
Renouned in the world as my son" (farzand)."

This farman was sent off with its copy, so that the prince might see the copy and sent the original to Adil Khan.[1]

Arrangement for the Deccan provinces
by the Prince Shah Khurram

After the peace had been concluded, the Khan Khana was appointed to the governorship of Berar, Khandesh and Ahmadnagar and his eldest son Shah Nawaz Khan was stationed in the conquered provinces to hold possession with 12,000 cavalry. Reliable officers were appointed to every posts. Thirty thousand horse and seven thousand musketeers were left for the defence.[2]

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 387-88; Iqbalnama, p. 101.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 393; Iqbalnama, p. 102.

Shah Khurram came to the Imperial Camp

And with the remainder 25,000 horse and 2,000 gunners and with most of the Principal officers, The prince reached Imperial camp at Mandu on Thursday, October 12, 1617 after a duration of eleven months and eleven days, and waited on the emperor. After the prince performed the dues of salutation and kissing the ground, the emperor called him to the Jharokha and with exceeding kindness and uncontrolled delight rose from his seat and held him in the embrace of affection and made him sit near his seat. The prince presented 1,000 asharfis and 1,000 rupees as nazr and the same amount by way of alms; and the elephant Sarnak; the chief elephant of Adil Khan's offering with a casket of precious stones. He was, promoted to the rank of 30,000 zat and 20,000 sawar; styled Shah Jahan (king of the world) and entitled to a chair near the throne in the court. Gifts were showered on him by the emperor in profession and a magnificent feast was organised by Nur Jahan in honour of the occasion. All the officers, who came with him and even the ambassadors of Bijapur were allowed to pay their dues of salutation and respects and received honour with interviews, presents and rewards.[1]

Shah Jahan's offerings to the Emperor Jahangir

On Thursday, the 20th November 1617, Shah Jahan produced his offerings of jewels and jewelled things, and fine cloths and other rare things. Jahangir himself writes, "These were all laid

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 393-97; Iqbalnama, pp. 103-4.

out in the countryard of the jharokha and arranged together with horses and elephants adorned with gold and silver trappings. In order to please him I came down from the jharokha and looked through them in detail. Among all those, there was a fine ruby of 19 1/2 tanks of rare weight, brought for the prince at the port of Goa for 200,000 rupees, a sappire weighing 6 tanks and 7 surkhs and valued at 100,000 rupees.[1] Jahangir has written that he never saw before this a sappire of such a size and good colour. Another was Chamkora diamond,[1] weighing 1 tank and 6 surkhs and valued at 40,000 rupees, an emerold of unsurpossed beauty of colour and delicacy, the last three were among the offering of Adil Khan. Again there were two pearls, weighing 64 and 16 surkhs and valued at 25,000 and 12,000 rupees respectively. Another diamond of 1 tank, valued at 30,000 rupees was presented by Qylbut-Mulk. Besides these offerings, there were 150 elephants out of which three were gold trapping, chains and nine had silver trapping. Twenty elephants were put into private stud, among them five were very large and celebrated. The first, Nurbakht, presented by Shah Jahan was of worth 125,000 rupees. Mahipati and Bukhdbuland, named by the emperor Durjan Sal and Granbar respectively, sent by Adil Khan, and Qaddus Khan, and Imam Riza, sent by Qutbul-Mulk, were estimated Rs. 100,000 each. Again, were 100 Arab and Irad horses of good quality. The offering accepted by the emperor was estimated 20,00,000 rupees.

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1. The name Chamkora Diamond is derived from the plant Chamkora when Murtaza Nizamul Mulk conquered Berar, he had gone one day with his ladies round to look the garden, when one of the women found the diamond in the Chamkora vegetable, and took it to Nizamul Mulk. From that day it became known as Chamkora diamond, See Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 400.

To Nurjahan, Shah Jahan offered presents of worth 200,000 rupees and to his other mothers and Begums of worth 60,000 rupees. Altogether his presents were estimated at 2,260,000 rupees.[1]

Gujarat as jagir of Shah Jahan and his Illness

Jahangir was pleased with Shah Jahan due to his successes in Mewar and the Deccan. On the occasion of his weighing Shah Jahan received the province of Gujarat as his jagir from the emperor.[2] But he was soon disgusted with the suffocating heat and dust of the country. His illness lasted a long time, and for ten days he could not come to pay his respects. 'He came on Thursday, the 24th and waited on me, and appeared. Very weak and powerless, so much so that if anyone had not explained the matter, one might have supposed he had been ill for a month'. Here we see heartiest affection of Jahangir for the prince. He says, 'I contracted fever my sone Shah Jahan, who is close to my heart, also contracted it'. But at last he went cure.[3]

Death of Shah Jahan's mother

On Firday, the 8th April 1619, the mother of Shah Jahan died, when the court was staying at Nur-Manzil garden. Next day Jahangir went to his house ~~im~~ and having condoled with him in every way, took him to his palace.[4]

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 399-401; Iqbalnama, p. 105. For Shah Jahan in the Deccan she also Do Laet (H.and B.), pp. 197-99.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 424; II, p. 261; Qazvini, f. 75b.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 14; Iqbalnama, p. 115.
4. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 84, This was Jodh Bai, daughter of Mota Raja, see Blochman, p. 619.

Shah Jahan Conquered Kangra

In the thirteenth year of the reign or, in Sept., 1618, Shah Jahan took upon himself the responsibility to conquer the fort of Kangra, which was not conquered by any Sultans. He appointed Raja Bikramajit, one of his principal officers, with 2,000 horse, and a force of Jahangir's servants, such as Shahbaz Khan Lodi, Hardi Narayan Hada, Ray Prithi Chand and the sons of Ram Chand, with 200 mounted musketeers and 500 foot musketeers were appointed to this duty. Raja Bikramjit was asked for a jagir in the Pargana of Barhana of which revenue was 2,200,000 dams, because he former had not a jagir in that Subah. The Raja presented as an offering, a rosary of emeralds of the value Rs. a sword at the time of his departure.[1]

History of Kangra

Kangra was an ancient fort to the North of Lahore, situated in the midst of the hill country, famous for its strength and the difficult of conquering it. Till that period it was never conquered by any other tribe. Whoever sat on the throne of Delhi sent an army to subdue Kangra, but their desires did not fulfil. Akbar also had sent an large army once under command of Husain Quli Khan, styled afterward Khan Jahan. Whilst the seize was in progress, the Ibrahim Husain Mirza fled from Gujarat, and raised the flag of rebellion and calamity towards the Punjab. Khan Jahan was

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1. Tuzuk (R. and B.), I, pp. 25-26.

compelled to raise the seize, and was appointed to crush the rebellion, and thus the aquisition of the fort fell into the knot of delay.

Efforts of Jahangir to Subdue Kangra

In the first instance Jahangir despatched Murtaza Khan, the governor of Punjab, with a gallant force to conquer the fort. But this important matter was not completed when Murtaza Khan died. After this Jauhar Mal,[1] son of Raja Baso, undertook this duty. But he, taking to evil revolt and ingratitude, committed sin, and dispersion found its way into that army, and the acquisition of the fort failed. Then according to his promise to subdue Kangra, Shah Jahan sent his own servant Sundar with all haste. On 5th September 1620, the armies, having invested the fort, erected batteries. Looking to the ways of entrance into and exit from the fort carefully, they closed the road for the entrance of provisions. The beseized became straitened, and when there remained in the fort no grain that they could eat; for four month they boiled dry grasses with salt and ate. But when they saw that destruction was emminent; and no hope of escape was left, they asked for quarter and surrendered the fort. The troopers, who had displayed praiseworthy activity in this service, were exalted according to their exertions and fitness by increase of mansab and dignities. Hearing this news of victory Jahangir beat with loud sounds of the drum of gladness and pleasure.[2]

1. Tuzuk (R. and B.), II, p. 185, n.1, Jauhar Mal is mentioned as Suraj Mal, see Iqbalnama, p. 173.
2. Ibid, II, pp. 83-85. Fath Kangra (E.and D.), VI, pp. 520-24.

Jahangir visits Kangra

Jahangir was transported with delight at a victory which no Muslim sovereign of India had been able to achieve. A year later he visited the fort in the company of the chief Qari, Mir Adl and other learned men of Islam. According to the custom of the religion of Muhammad he went up to the top of the fort to call his prayer and reading of the Khutba and the slaughter of a bullock, which had not taken place from the commencement of the building of the fort till now, were carried out in his presence, and order was given to erect a lofty mosque inside the fort.[1] An eminent author,[2] in confusion says that the Hindu temples, inside the fort was destroyed by Jahangir's order while we see the fact by Jahangir that only customs of Islam according to Muhammad were carried out, temples were not disturbed.

Shah Jahan Receive the copy of Jahangirnama

When the events of 12 years of Jahangirnama had been recorded, Jahangir ordered the clerks of private library to make one volume of these twelve years, and to prepare a number of copies of that book so that he might give them to his special servants and they might be sent to the various cities, so that administrators and the auspicious might adopt them as their code. On August 20, 1618 one of the news-writer prepared a volume and produced before Jahangir. This first copy was given to Shah Jahan, whom he considered to be in

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 185-6, (E.and D.), VI, pp. 525-26.
2. Saksena, Banarasi Prasad, History of Shahjahan, p. 293.

all respects the first of his son. On the back of this copy he wrote with his own hand that he had given it on a certain day and at a certain place.[1]

Shah Jahan presents Kashmiri Boat to Jahangir

In October 1618, Shah Jahan presented a Kashmiri boat to Jahangir the sitting place of which was made of silver. In the evening of the same day, Jahangir embarked in that boat and went round the tank. This fact cleares the regard of Jahangir for Shah Jahan. By embarking into that boat Jahangir made please his son Shah Jahan and confirmed him that it was a pleasant present for him.[2]

Shah Jahan Reappointed to the Deccan

After the departure of Jahangir and Shah Jahan from the Deccan; Melic Amber formed a leauge with Bijapur and Coolconda, called up his Maratha bands, and collected 60,000 troops. In 1620 he broke the treaty, imposed upon him two years before and began to seize his old territories. When the Ambar's forces crossed the Narbada, the Khan Khanan repeatedly applied to the head-quarters for urgent reign forcement. 20 lakh rupees was sent for the support of the force appointed to the Deccan from treasury of Agra. In three battles, the rebels were defeated and many of them were killed by the Imperialists. Nevertheless many districts of Ahmadnagar, Khandesh and Berar were seized by the rebels. Then Jahangir appointed

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 26-27.
2. Ibid, p. 47.

Prince Khurram to the Deccan, bestowing on him a dress of honour, a sword, and an elephant. Nur Jahan Begum also gave him an elephant. Jahangir told him after he had conquered the province of the Deccan he should take as a reward twos[1] crores of dam from the conquered country. 650 mansabdars, 1,000 Ahadis, 1,000 Turkish musketeers, and 1,000 gunners on fort, in addition to the 31,000 horse already in that quarter, and a large force of artilliary, and many elephants, were appointed to accompany him and a crore of rupees was given to him for the expenses of the army. The officers, who were appointed on that duty received each, according to this standing as a reward, horses, elephants, and dresses of honour.[2]

Shah Jahan's Victory in the Deccan

When Shah Jahan with his army reached Ujain, he got the news from a band of courtiers, who were in the fort of Mandu that an army of the rebels, putting forward the foot of audacity, had crossed the Narbada, and burning several villages that were under the fort, were busy with repine and plunder. Madaru-l-Mahamm Khwaja and Abul Hasan with 5,000 cavalry, were appointed in all haste to punish the rebels. The Khwaja made a night march, and at the dawn of day reached to the bank of Narvada. Having heard this news, the rebelthrew themselves into the river in all haste and reached to the another bank for safety. The brave cavalry galloped after them, and pursued them for nearly four kos[3] and killed many of them.

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1. The Iqbalnama, p. 176, says ten crores.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 155-7, 188-90.
3. Iqbalnama, p. 181, writes fourteen kos.

The rebel fled to Burhanpur. Shah Jahan wrote to Abul Hassan to remain on that side of river till his arrival. Soon he joined that advanced force with his army and quickly reached Burhanpur. Still the rebels were encamped round the city. As the Imperial servants had been confending with the rebels for two years, they had suffered much difficulty in want of land and scarcity of corn, and their horses were tired of continued service. Therefore, they had to delay nine days in order to recruit. During this period, thirty lakhs of rupees and cuirasses were distributed among the soldiers, and sazawuls had been sent out and had brought many men out of the city.

Seize and Ruin of Khirki

The brave and swift cavalries followed the rebels, slaying many of them, pursued as far as khirki, which was the residence of Nizamul Mulk and other rebels. One day before this; Melic Amber, having got the news of Imperialist's arrival, had removed the Nizamul Mulk and his family and effects to the fort of Daulatabad. There he had encamped, with his back resting on the fort, while infront of him there were marshes and quagmires. Most of his men scattered in all directions. The Imperial cavalry halted three days in the town of khirki, and destroyed badly the city.[1]

Submission of Melick Amber

At the same time the Imperialists found the news that an army of rebels was beseizing Ahmadnagar. They decided that they

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 206-8, the city had taken twenty years to build.

must at once go there, and inflict condign punishment to the rebels and renewed the supplies of the Ahmadnagar garrison. When they came as far as the town of Patna,[1] Amber sent agents and officers and said: "After this I will not drop the thread of service and loyalty from my hand, nor put out my foot beyond orders, and will regard whatever tribute and fine be commanded as a favour, and will send it to the government." Just then there was scarcity in consequence of the dearness of provisions in the camp. The rebel, who were beseizing Ahmadnagar, having heard the arrival of the Imperial force had withdrawn. A force was sent to help Khanja Khan, the governor of the fort, and a sum of money for his charge. Thereupon the Imperial force returned to their camp. After ~~xmig~~ signing a tready, it was decided that in addition to the territory which of old had belonged to the empire, the rebel should surrender 28 miles of the adjoining country and should pay into public treasury a tribute of 50 lakhs rupees.[2]

Jahangir rewarded the officers

Having heard the news of success in the Deccan by Afzal Khan, Diwan of Shah Jahan, he sent with him a ruby plume, which Shah Abbas had presented him, for Shah Jahan and that Diwan received a dress of honour, an elephant, an inkpot, and a jewelled pen. All the officers, who had performed approved services were rewarded.[3]

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1. See Ain II (Jarret), p. 233.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 208.
3. Ibid, pp. 208-9.

Marriage of Khurram with the Daughter of Muzaffar Husain Mirza

Jahangir had demanded the daughter of Mujaffar Husain Mirza, IV decendant of Shah Ismail Safawi ruler of Qandhar and on 15th Ramzan, in 1608A.D., he sent 50,000 rupees as marriage present (sachad) for the bride. And in 1610 A.D. the marriage was held at the house of prince Khurram and Jahangir stayed there whole night. At this holy occasion Jahangir presented to most of the Amirs with robe of honour; some of those confined in the fort of Gwalior were released and 1,00,000 rupees collected from Khalisa paragana by Islam Khan was handed over to him as a present. Some gold, silver and some of every kind of jewellery and grain was given to trustworthy men to distribute among the poor of Agra.[1]

Marriage with the daughter of Itiqad Khan

Jahangir writes "As I had sought the daughter of Itiqad Khan, son of I'timadu-daulah, in marriage for Khurram, and the marriage festival had been arranged for. I went on Thursday, 18th Khurdad, to his house, and stayed there one day and one night." It seems that Jahangir was determined for this marriage of the daughter of Itiqad Khan later style as Asaf Khan IV. At this occasion Khurram presented offerings to Jahangir and gave jewels[2] to the Begums, his mothers (including step mothers) and the female servants of the harems and dresses of honour to Amirs.[3] The coroboration

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 159, 180.
2. Iqbalnama, p. 67, says, Turha, but its last line shows that it means jewels. The text omits the preposition before Begum, see Tuzuk (R.and B.), p. 225, n.1.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 224-25.

of the marriage is found in Padshahnama. That the lady was Arjumand Banu Begum later known as Mumtaz-Mahal and she was favourite wife of Khurram. It seems that the betrothal took place five years and three months before the marriage. At the time of the marriage 9th Rabi-ul-awwal correspond to April 30, 1612, Friday, Khurram was 20 years and 3 months old and Arjumand Banu was 19 years and 1 months.[1] But the date given by Jahangir 18th Khurdad corresponds to about the end of May 1612. Shah Jahan also married with the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan. In this connection Jahangir does not refer the marriage but he mentioned her at time of death of her son.[2]

Sons and Daughters of Shah Jahan

Birth of Dara

On 30th March 1615, at midnight (after 12 p.m.) in the ascension of sagittarius a son was born to Khurram by the daughter of Asaf Khan (Arjumand Banu) Begum. The infant was named Dara Shukuh by his venerated grand father. Jahangir said at this occasion that his advent would be propotious to this state conjoined with eternity, and to his fortunate father.[3] That in fant Dara Shukuh was too much dear for his grand father.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 224, n.1, But the date of the marriage given by Jahangir seems correct. Arjumand Banu died at Burhanpur in July 1631 in her 40th year. She was not first wife of Shah Jahan, for he was married to the daughter of Murzaffar Husain Safawi in Sept. 1610, but the betrothal to Arjumand Banu was earlier than this. It was in Arjumand's honour the Taj was built.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 203.
3. Ibid, p. 282.

Shah Shajaat

The second son of Khurram, by daughter of Asaf Khan, Arjumand Banu Begum, was born on the eve of Sunday, on 1st July 1616 A.D. With joy and gladness at this great boon the drums were beaten loudly and the people also enjoyed this pleasure and joy. That infant was named Shah Shajaat by his grand father. Jahangir writes, "without delay and reflection the name of Shah Shajaat came to my tongue."[1] Jahangir further says that the infant was brought up in the chaste lap of Nur Jahan Begum and was so much affectionate for himself that he was dearer to him than his life. Once he was attacked by a specially infantile disease 'ummu-s-sibyan' and for a long time his senses left him. Although, experienced Hakims devised many remedies, which proved unprofitable. Here Jahangir says that his insensibility took away his own senses "As visible remedies were hopeless, by way of humility and submission I rubbed the head of supplication on the court of the gracious ruler who cherishes his slaves, and begged for the child's recovery." In this connection Jahangir took a vow to his God that he had passed his fiftieth (50) year, he would give up hunting with bullet and gun and would enjure no creature with his own hand, the prayer of Jahangir for the recovery of the infant was received by the God and the illness of the child diminished. Jahangir had great affection for him.[2]

Aurangzeb

The third son of Khurram was born on Sunday, 24th October 1618[3] by the Arjumand Banu Begum, the daughter of Asaf Khan in the

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 328.
2. Ibid, II, p. 45, 203.
3. Ibid, II, p. 47, But Khafi Khan, I, p. 296, has 11th instead of 15th Zi-l-Qada. But the date given by Jahangir seems correct.

Pargana of Dohad. According to Khafi Khan the infant was named Aurangzeb.[1]

Umid Bakhsh

On Wednesday, December 8, 1619 this son was born by the daughter of Asaf Khan, Arjumand Banu Begum at Kairana in Pargana of Saharanpur. At this holy occasion, Shah Jahan presented an offering of 1,000 muhars, to Jahangir and begged for a name for him. The infant was named Umidbakhsh (bestower of the hope) by his venerated grand father.[2]

Daughter Roshanara

On Monday, 1st Ramzan (Sept. 2, 1617), after four gharis and seven pols had passed, the daughter of Asaf Khan (Arjumand Banu Begum gave birth to a daughter, who was named Roshanara Begum.[3]

Death of a Shahjahan's son

Referring this incident Jahangir refers that in the 16th year of his reign, Shah Shuja had a violent eruption that water would not go down his throat, and his life was dispaired of. According to his father's horoscope his son was to die that year. All the astrologers were unanimous that he would not live, but an astrologer Jotik Roy said, on the contrary that the dust of calamity would not settle on the skirt of his life. According to the astro-

1. Khafi Khan, I, p. 296.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 112, Saksena, B.P., p. 15, says wrongly on August 29, 1624. See also Padshahnama, I, 392, says the place Sirhind instead of Shaharanpur, he died at Burhanpur in Rabi-u-s-sani 1031 (Feb-March, 1622).
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 389.

loger in the horoscope of Jahangir it was recorded that in that year distress or trouble would not find its way to the royal mind from any road, and he (Jahangir) had great affection for the child it behaved no calamity should happen to him and some other child would die. And according to the astrologer Jotik Roy, the child carried his life out of deadly disease, and another son of Shah Jahan, born by daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan died at Burhanpur. The judgement of the astrologer Jotik Roy turned out correct, on reward Jahangir ordered him to be weighed against money. The weight came to Rs. 6,500, which was given to him.[1]

We get a list of Shah Jahan's sons and daughter as following in other source,[2] who remained alive out of 14 children.

1. Jahan Ara Begum, born at Ajmer, on March 23, 1614.
2. Dara Shikoh, Born at Ajmer on March 20, 1615.
3. Shah Shuja, born at Ajmer on June 23, 1616.
4. Roshan Ara Begum, born at Burhanpur on Aug. 24, 1617.
5. Aurangzeb, born at Dauhad, on October 24, 1618.
6. Murad Bakhsh, born at Rohtas on August 24, 1624.
7. Gauhar Ara Begum, born at Burhanpur on June 29, 1924.

Revolt of Shah Jahan

Problem of Qandahar

In the beginning of 17th century the ruler of Persia, Shah Abbas with the armies of Khurasan and Irad beseized Qandahar. When

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 203.
2. Shah Jahan of Delhi, B.P. Saksena, p. 15.

Khan Jahan reported about this seize to Jahangir in Kashmir, he himself decided to meet the crisis. Multan was appointed to be the rendezuvous of the relieving force to Khan Jahan. The princes and mansabdars were summoned to hasten to Multan with their troops and retainers. Khwja Abul Hasain Diwan and Sadiq Khan, Bakhshi were commissioned to expedite the concentration of the relieving force. Strings of war like elephants and armoury were to be prepared and forwarded. An immense amount of Rs. 100,000 was appropriated to the expenses of the campaign and the Banjaras were directed to supply grain, and 1,00,000 bullock to carry the grains and goods of the relieving force.[1]

Shah Jahan Refused to go to Qandahar

Shah Jahan reached Mandu on March 24, 1622, He proposed to pass the rainy season in the fort of Mandu and then come to the court. Jahangir ordered him to despatch the great Amirs to the court specially the Sayyids of Barha and Bukhara, the Shaikhzadas, the Afghans and the Rajputs. At the same time Mirza Rustam and Asaf Khan were despatched to Lahore in advance to assist the army of Qandahar and again a farman, Kamkab and Khitmadgarkhan with twelve Sazawals of the Amirs was sent to Shah Jahan to despatch his attendants to the court soon so that they might be sent to Qandahar. At the same time Shah Jahan had taken some of the estates of Nur Jahan and Shahriyar into his possession, especially the pargana of Dholpur. Having heard the news Jahangir became anxious and in

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 233-34; Iqbalnama, pp. 192-3. English Factories in India (1622-23), pp. 99, 112.

anger summoned Shah Jahan to send the troops and not to come to the court and informed if "anything contrary to this order should come to notice, he would repent it."[1] Jahangir became so much uncharitable towards his son Shahjahan that he broke the vow of not to sport with a gun and to inflict no injury on a living thing with his own hand, which he had taken at the time of illness of his son Shuja in consideration of the great regard and affection for the son and the grandson.[2]

Shahriyar Despatched to Qandahar

Shah Jahan did not send satisfactory explanation of his conduct and on first of Shahriwar prince Shahriyar was appointed to the Qandahar expedition and was raised to the mansab of 12,000 personal and 8,000 horse with Imperial honour. The emperor issued an order to the chief Diwans to levy the pay of the force appointed to Qandahar expedition from the Shahjahan's jagirs in the sarkar of Hisar, in Duab, and those regions, and in place of these the subahs of Gujarat, Malwa, the Deccan and Khan Desh was given to Shahjahan with permission to make his quickly residence according to his desire and to send the Bazawals appointed to bring the

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 235-36, Ain Jarret, II, p. 96, Shah Jahan had sometime before applied for the grant of the Pargana of Dholpur as his jagir, M.U. (Beveridge), I, pp. 149-50. Qazvini, 103(b) says that Shahjahan requested to pass the rains in Mandu, he should be invested with the power of promoting and degrading his officers, he should be assinged the subah of the Punjab, he should be provided with sufficient money, and finally he should be given the fort of Ranthambhor for the residence and protection of his family.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 236.

troops from him. After that he was to look after his own-charge and not depart the order otherwise he would be declared rebel.[1] Although Shah Jahan sent a letter of apology by his Diwan Afzal Khan about transfer of his jagir showing his former loyalty, but the emperor paid no attention and did not listen to him.[2]

Open Revolt of Shah Jahan

Just at the juncture, Shah Jahan broke out in open revolt and left Mandu with an immense force for the north.[3] When Jahangir received the news of Shah Jahan's move towards Agra with his retainers to seize the royal treasury on the way,[4] express messages were sent to prince Parvez to hurry to the court with all his forces from Bihar. The Rajputs troops of Amber, Marwar, Kotah, Bundi, and other states were summoned to the support of the throne. Numbrous other nobles, apprehension of royal displeasure were pardoned and promoted. Mohabat Khan reached the Imperial court in January 1623, and assumed the chief command of the rapidly mobilizing Imperial forces. Jahangir himself, even in his delicate health, marched to Sultanpur to punish the wretch (rebels), if they would come by this way. In the meantime Musavi Khan was sent to Shah Jahan by Jahangir to lay before him the threatening message. Musavi Khan met the

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 237-39, Beni Prasad, 'History of Jahangir', p. 325 says that the order of transfer of jagir was issued by Nurjahan as found in Iqbalnama seems doubtful, because Jahangir obviously says if his own order.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 38-39; Iqbalnama, pp. 194-96.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 246-47.
4. Asaf Khan was sent to Agra to bring the royal treasury, see Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 245. De Laet (H.and B.), p. 201, writes 'Lahore Treasury and also mentions that Asaf Khan informed Shahjahan about the treasury.

prince before Fathpur. The result was that Shah Jahan commissioned his own officer Qazi Abdul Aziz to lay his demands before Jahangir, but he was not allowed to speak, and was put into prison. The gates of Fathpur was closed against the rebels, but Sundar Das[1] raided the unwalled city of Agra, seized the wealth of the nobles, robbing, among others, Lashkar Khan of Rs. 9,00,000.[2]

Shah Jahan's March and Battle of Bilochpur

Early in March 1623, Shah Jahan marched along the Jamuna at the head of 27,000 cavalry to encounter with the Imperialists. Leaving a small detachment at the Shahpur on that road, he turned abide forty miles towards Kotila with main body of his force and encamped at Bilochpur. He tried guerilla tactics and attempted to cut off the supplies of the enemy. Till the time, Shah Jahan was accompanied by most of the mansabdars of the Deccan, Gujarat and Malwa. Jahangir writes, "There were fine armies. Although nominally the command was in the hands of the wretch (barghasta-i-ruzgar) Darab, yet in reality the leader and the centre of the whole affair was Sundar." When the Imperialists were encamped at Qabulpur on 28 March and Bakir Khan was left behind all the rest, a body of the rebel attacked him on the march, but they were beaten back by the Khan. Having heard this news, Khwaja Abul Hasan hastened to support him, but before his arrival the rebels, "not being able to stand, had taken to flight."

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1. Sundar was given the title of Raja Bikramjit by Jahangir.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 246, 47, 49, 50. Shah Jahan was declared Bi-Daulat by Jahangir. Delaet (H.and B.), p. 200, Tod, II, pp. 32-3, 385-86. About raid of Agra, see also Della Valle, I, p. 121.

Next day on 29th March, the Imperialists, having separated 26,000 horse, divided into three divisions - 8,000 under Asaf Khan, an equal number under Khwaja Abul Hasain and a pick body of 10,000 under Abdullah Khan. Sundar came foreward with the rebel force and encounter of the both sides began. But just at the time, when the rebels were about to take flight, Abdullah Khan "threw 10,000 cavalry into confusion and joined the enemy." Nevertheless, the Imperialists did not lose their patience and planted their "foot of courage" and finally the rebels were defeated and forced to take flight towards Mandu. Sundar Das, the Chief Officer of Shahjahan was killed and his head was presented to Jahangir. Jahangir, who was very happy on the victory bestowed promotions, titles, dignities and gifts in royal profession to keep the officers in good humour.[1]

Fate of Qandahar

After the seize of Qandahar, Shah Abbas had sent his ambassador Haider Beg with a letter, in which the Shah had written to justify his seize and capture of the fort on the ground that Qandahar rightly belonged to the persian ruling family. Jahangir ought to have surrendered it to him peaceably and maintain the former friendship. Jahangir upbraided the Shah for trechery and meanness and urged on the retributive expedition and sent a strong garrison to encounter the invaders in Qandahar.[2] But soon after

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 250, 51, 52,53,54,55,56,59; Iqbalnama, pp. 200-204. De Laet (H.and B.), p. 205. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 330, says that this order given by Nur Jahan, which Jahangir clearly says that all the affairs were done on his own order.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 204-5.

his attention was turned towards the rebellion of ambitions prince Shah Jahan and he was followed to postponed the encounter in Qandahar. Jahangir writes, "Thanks God that he has given me such capacity to bear my burdens that I can put up with all this, and go on in the same path, and reckon them as light. But that which weighs heavily on my heart, and places my eager temperament in sorrow is this, that at such a time when my prosperous sons and loyal officers should be vying with each other in the service against Qandahar and Khurasan, which would be to the renown of the Sultanate, this inauspicious one has struck with an axe the foot of his own dominion, and become a stumbling block in the path of the enterprise. The momentous affair of Qandahar must now be postponed, but I trust that Almighty God will remove these griefs from my heart."[3] This expression of Jahangir clears that he would had recovered Qandahar, if Shah Jahan would had not engaged him in internal affairs.

Pursuit of Shah Jahan

Till the arrival of Prince Parvez, the pursuit of Shah Jahan was postponed because Abdullah Khan's action had made Jahangir suspicions about Asaf Khan, Abul Hasan and other Amirs. When in May 1623, Prince Parvez reached to the court, he was "loaded with more and more favours" and was appointed with illustrious Amirs at the head of 40,000 horse and much artillery to pursue Shah Jahan. The reins of authority over powerful prince and the centre of ordering of victorious army was given to Mohabat Khan.

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 248.

Twenty lakhs of rupees were given for their expense. Another force under the nominal command of Dawar Bakhsh, son of Khusrau, now raised to 8,000 zat and 3,000 sawar and appointed to the government of Gujarat under guardianship of Khan Azam, marched towards Ahmedabad to recover Gujarat for the empire. Two lakhs of rupees were given for the expense of the force. Jahangir himself marched towards Ajmer, and reached on May 9, 1923, to support the campaign against Shah Jahan.[1]

Skirmishes between Mohabat Khan and Shah Jahan

Shah Jahan received the news of arrival of prince Parvez and Mohabat Khan accross the Chandaghat, in the fort of Mandu. He marched out with 20,000 horse, 300 elephant and a large number of artillery to encounter with the Imperialists and sent forward a body of light Maratha horse under Jadu Ray and Uday Ram to harass the Imperialists. Mohabat Khan, however, rose equal to the occasion and effectually counteracted the guerilla tactics. He placed prince Parvez in centre and himself proceeded with the whole army, and in marching and halting observed the condition of caution. A small body of the Imperialists under a drunken commander Mansur Khan, on path of loyalty, attacked the enemy without information and surrounded by the Marathas, who cut off them. At the same time, Mohabat Khan tried and secretly won over some of the ablest and most powerful supporters of Shah Jahan, such as Barqandaz Khan, and above all Rustam Khan. When Shah Jahan sent a large detachment

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 266-261, Nur Jahan also honoured Prince Parvez at the time of his arrival to the court and before his Iqbalnama, pp. 204-5.

under his treacherous retainer Rustam Khan and Barqandaz Khan and himself marched behind the main body, and the battle was about begin near Kaliyadaha, Rustam and Barqandaz Khan with other officers deserted to the enemy, throwing all the arrangements of Prince Shah Jahan into confusion and Shah Jahan was followed to retreat across the Narvada securing the foods with his trustworthy men and leaving detachment under Bairam Beg and some Marathas to depute Mohabat's passage.[1]

Disloyalty of Shah Jahan's Officers

Mohabat's letter to Zahid Khan in answer to the letter's offer of descretion was intercepted by one of Shah Jahan's loyal officers. The traitor was put into survellience and his poperty worth one lakh and thirty thousand rupees was confiscated. Meanwhile, Taqi captured the messenger of the Khan Khana, and presented him before Shah Jahan, whom the Khan Khanan was sending to Mohabat Khan with a letter. Showing his handwriting, he was put into confinement with his sons in his own house.[2]

Shah Jahan to Asir

After his defeat near Delhi, Shah Jahan marched for the strong fort of Asir,[3] which was then held by his follower Mir

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 271-274; Gladwin, pp. 65-66.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 273-74.
3. For Asir, See Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 277, "The said fort in height and strength, is not in want of my praise'. Faizi Sinhindi and Akbarnama (E.and D.), VI, pp. 138-41.

Husamuddin, son of Mir Jamaluddin and husband of Nur Jahan's neice.[1] "Be aware, a thousand times beaware, not to allow Bi-daulat and his men to come near the fort but strengthen the towers and gates, and do your duty, and do not act in such a manner that the stain of a course and ingratitude for favours should fell on the honour or the forehead of the Sayyid." Following the direction, Mir Husamuddin strengthened the fort and the arrangement. But when Shah Jahan sent his attendant Sharif, he surrendered the fort without any struggle and received the title of Murtaza Khan with Mansab of 4000 and standard of drums. Shah Jahan remained there for three or four days and getting a mental relief, he handed over the charge of the fort to his Rajput follower Gopaldas, left the women and bagged there and taking with him, his three wives with her children and some maid servants hastened to Burhanpur. At first he proposed to imprison Khan Khanan and Darab in the fort, but at last changed his mind, and brining them down with him hastened to Burhanpur. At this time 'La natu-llah', after suffering disgrace and contempt, came from Surat and joined him.[2]

Shah Jahan in Evil Days and Efforts to Make Peace

Being in great perlexity, Shah Jahan employed a brave Rajput Sir Bulan Roy as his mediater and by letters and messages made proposals of peace. But Mahabat Khan replied that peace was impossible till the arrival of Khan Khanan. Being helpless, Shah Jahan brought him (Khan Khanan) out of prison and, and satisfied himself by taking an oath from him on the Quran. In order to please

1. Maasir-ul-Umara, III, 382, His wife was the sister of Ahmad Beg brother's son of Ibrahim Khan Fath Jang how she is the daughter of Sharif and neice of Nur Jahan, See also Blockman, p. 512. See, Tuzu (R.and B.), pp. 277, n. 2.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 277-78.

him and strengthen his promises and oath, he took him inside the female appartment and made a confidant of him, and brought his own wife and sons to him, and made use of all kinds of entreaty and lamentation. Jahangir has quoted the remarks of Shah Jahan, "my times are hard, and my position difficult; I make myself over to you, and make you the guardian of my honour. You must act so that I no longer undergo contempt and confusions."[1]

The Khan Khanan separated from Shah Jahan

The Khan Khanan, pretending to bring about peace, parted from Shah Jahan and proceeded towards the royal army. He told Shah Jahan that he would remain on the other side of the river, and arrange matters relating to peace in writing. Before arrival of the Khan Khanan, some brave Umperialist officers crossed the river at night, where the rebels were surprised and could not engage themselves to drive back the Imperialists. Just at the time other Imperialist officers also crossed the river and the rebels took to flight. The Khan Khanan fell into perplexity and could neither go nor stay where he was. Just at the time "again letters arrived from my prosperous son mingling threats with promises." But the Khan Khanan, having seen the evil future of Shah Jahan, hastened to through the mediation of Mohabat Khan to wait upon the Prince Parvez.[2]

Shah Jahan's Flight towards the Deccan

Shah Jahan, on hearing of the departure of the Khan Khanan and the crossing of the Narvada by the victorious army and the

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 278-79.
2. Ibid, p. 279.

flight of Bairam Beg, lost his courage and inspite of a flood in the river and the violence of the rain, crossed the river Tapti and went off towards the Deccan. Shah Jahan, in confusion separated many of the royal servants and his own attendants. But some of his followers deserted him against his will. Sarbuland Khan Afghan refused to cross the river, even when exhorted and entreated by Shah Jahan's messenger from the other side. Jahangir writes about the incident that Shah Jahan's messanger Zulfikar Khan delivered the message to Sarbuland on the river's bank when the latter was seated on horseback. Sarbuland gave no precise answer but told the Zulfikar to let go his bride. Zulfikar drew his sword and aimed at Sarbuland's waist, but the blow was caught on the 'barchha' by an Afghan soldier. Sword were drawn and Zulfikar was cut to pieces together with the son of Sultan Muhammad.[1] The treasurer who had accompanied Zulfikar without Shah Jahan's permission. Jado Roy, Uday Ram and Atash Khan accompanied Shah Jahan for some stages simply because their holdings lay on the way', Jado Roy taking care to lag behind to pick up the abundoned property of the distressed fugitives.[2]

Pursuit of Shah Jahan

According to the Emperor's order, Prince Parvez was determined to pursue Shah Jahan. Though many Imperial Officers had remained behind in consequence of the heavy rains, but without any

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1. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 341, n.15 wrongly says Sultan Muhammad, while Jahangir in his memoirs called him Sultan Muhammad's son. See Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 280.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 279-80.

delay, he crossed the river Tapti and hastened to Burhanpur, where Shah Jahan had taken his abode. Jahangir writes, "I sent Khawas Khan on the wings of haste to my loyal son, and strongly impressed upon him that he must not relax his efforts, but must determine either to take him alive or to drive him out of the imperial territory."[1] Prince Parvez was also directed by the Emperor that if it needed he would throw himself by the road of Qutbu-l-Mulk's country into the provinces of Orissa and Bengal in accordance with military plan. For caution, Mirza Rustam was appointed to the Government of Allahabad, by the Emperor, with order that if Shah Jahan would go to Bengal, he would rectify matters.[1]

Shah Jahan Enters Golconda

When Shah Jahan received the news that Prince Parvez had crossed the river Tapti, and coming towards Burhanpur, he did not care of heavy rain and excessive quantity of mud, and hastened towards the territory of Golconda. His beasts of burden had also become exhausted due to constant marching and if any baggage was left behind no enquiries were made, and he (Shah Jahan) and his children were thinking only to save their lives. When the Imperial army reached to the Bhanger pass, fourty kos from Burhanpur, Shah Jahan had reached the fort of Mahur. When Jado Roy, Uday Ram and other Deccanis refused to go further, he did not disgrace them and let them go. Leaving the heavy elephants with the goods and cattles with Uday Ram in the fort of Mahur, Shah Jahan went to the territory

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 280-81; Iqbalnama, pp. 210-12; Gladwin, pp. 68-69.

of Qutbu-l-Mulk, his former enemy. When his departure from royal territory was ascertained, Prince Parvez, with the approval of Mohabat Khan and other officers, returned to Burhanpur and decided to pass the rain there and Jahangir, on the other hand, started for the pleasant vale of Kashmir on 14th November 1623.[1]

Shah Jahan and the Government of Golconda

When Shah Jahan was defeated near Delhi he went to Mandu. He sent Afzal Khan with presents to get assistance and support from Adilkhan, the ruler of Golconda. Afazal Khan went to Melic Amber and said the message. But Amber did not receive the presents and took him to Adil Khan. Adil Khan treated him badly and for a long time kept him outside the city and did not look into his affair, but put all kinds of slights upon him, secretly asked for what Shah Jahan had sent for him and Amber, and took possession of it. Among the presents Shah Jahan had sent an armlet for Adil Khan and a horse, an elephant and a jewelled sword for Amber. In the meantime Afaal Khan heard the news of the killing of his son and the ruin of his family, and so fell upon evil days, Shah Jahan, in spite of all his good fortune and happy auspices, came to the Port of Machhalipatam, which belongs to the territory of Qulbu-l-Mulk.[2]

Financial Assistance from Qutbu-l-Mulk

In the way of Machhalipatam, Shah Jahan sent some of his men to Qutbu-l-Mulk for all soughts of assistance and companionship.

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 281-82; Iqbalnama, pp. 213-14.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 290-91.

Qutbu-l-Mulk sent him a small amount of cash and goods for his support; and directed his frontier officers to conduct him in safely out of his territory and to encourage the zamindars and grain sellers to send grain and all other necessaries to his camp.[1]

Shah Jahan towards Orissa

On November 10, 1626, under the guidance of Golconda officers, he entered into Orissa through the route of Chaiar Diwar pass. At this time the governors of Bengal and Orissa were not prepared to meet with Shah Jahan. The governor of Orissa Ahmad Beg Khan, nephew of Bengal governor Ibrahim Khan had attacked the zamindars of Khurda. When he heard the news of Shah Jahan's entry into Orissa, he became confused and giving up his companion retired to pipli. He made no effort to stop Shah Jahan, but retired to Cuttack with his family and from there to Bardwan, the jagir and faujdari of Salih, son of Asaf Khan, Jafar Begi, who hardly believed the news until he received a letter from Lanutullah to conciliate him. Salih fortified Bardawan and remained in it for a seize.[2]

Ibrahim's preparation to stop Shah Jahan

Ibrahim Khan was surprised on hearing this news. Though most of his auxilliaries and troops were scattered in the villages round about and unprocurable, yet he planted his foot, of courage firmly in Akbarnagar, and himself set to strengthen the fort and

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 290-91. English Factories in India (1622-23), p. 313; it is also mentioned that Qutbu-l-Mulk had sent 20 elephant, and 2,00,000 pagodas in gold; See Ibid, p. 314.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 298-99; Beni Prasad, Omits Abdullah Khan on the place Lanutullah, in his work, History of Jahangir, p. 316. M.U. (Beveridge), pp. 155-56.

collected the troops and encourage the heads of the tribes and retainers. He prepared himself to fight a battle with Shah Jahan.[1]

Shah Jahan's offer to Ibrahim

In the meantime, Shah Jahan wrote a letter to Ibrahim Khan explaining, how "the decree of God and the ordinances of heaven" had brought him to the present plight, and he also expressed his desire to hold Bengal and to offer Ibrahim a jagir. He also expressed in the letter, that if "it were Ibrahim's determination to go to the royal court, he (Shah Jahan) would hold back the hand of injury from him and his family, and he might go to the court with an easy mind. If he considered it advisable to say, he would bestow upon him any corner of the country he might ask for."[2]

After this Jahangir ends his memoirs and gives no information.

From the above facts we reach to the point that Jahangir was a perfect ruler. He showed much favours to Shah Jahan in his early life due to his intellegence and bravery, but when he became unloyal, Jahangir appointed the main body of his force to crush his rebellion. The prince who was styled Shah Khurram and Shah Jahan from Khurram, was declared Bi-daulat during his revolt by Jahangir, which show the merit of a perfect ruler in Jahangir, who favoured only those who were loyal to the Empire and the Emperor.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), pp. 299.
2. Ibid.

Jahandar

Jahandar, the son of Jahangir, was born of a concubine. We get a little account about him by Jahangir. But appointment of Islam Khan as his tutor,[1] makes it clear that Jahangir took good care of him. Later on he was appointed, together with Qutb-ud-din Khan Koka in Bengal. Further, Jahangir informs us that his said son waited him in Jahangirabad and he was a born devotee.[2] Though we do not find Jahangir referring any other fact about him, but this little account also clears that Jahangir had love and care for him.

Shahryar

Shahryar, the son of Jahangir was born of a concubine. Although we do not find Jahangir referring him in the same manner in which he refers to his other sons, Khusrau, Parvez and Shah Jahan, still we get a little account of him in our 'text'. Referring to prince Shahryar Jahangir says that the Prince Shahryar came from Gujarat and waited on him.[3] Here we find that Jahangir took care of Shahryar and he was treated as a prince. This above fact clears that Shahryar was appointed to the Government of Gujarat.

Marriage of Shahryar with the daughter of Nur Jahan

Jahangir himself arranged the marriage of prince Shahryar with the grand daughter of Itimadudaulah (daughter of Nur Jahan Begum by Sher Afghan). Jahangir writes in his memoirs that he sent Rs. 100,000 in cash and goods by way of 'sachad' for the bride.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 143.
2. Ibid, p. 156.
3. Ibid, pp. 20, 156.

Most of the Amirs and chief officers went to Itimadudaulah's house with gifts. A grand entertainment with much ceremony was prepared by him (bride's grand father). Jahangir describes the grand marriage feast arranged by the bride's grand father, in which he attended with the ladies of his harem. On this holy occasion, Itimadudaulah placed appropriate offering of all kinds, and to please him Jahangir took such as he approved of.[1] About this marriage Jahangir writes further that "On the 4th urbihist, the feast of the Kar-i-Khair (consummation of the marriage) of my son Shahryar increased the joy of my heart. The Hinna-bandi (putting on hinna) assembly took place in the palace of Maryam-uz-Zamani. The feast of the nikah was held in the house of Itimadudaulah. I myself went there with my ladies and adorned the feast of joy. After seven gharis of night had passed, on Friday the marriage took place with rejoinings."[2] The above facts show the fatherly affection of Jahangir.

Shahryar Receives presents and Promotion

Soon after his engagement with the grand daughter of Itimadudaulah, Shahryar received a present of Rs. 100,000[3] from the Emperor and later on, on the joy-enhancing day of sixteenth New Year, he received a mansab of 8000 personnel and 4000 horses.[4] And after his marriage in April 1621, he received presents of a jewelled charqab (coat), with a turban and waist belt (kamar band) and two horses, one Iraqi with gold saddle and other Turki with an embroidered saddle.[5]

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.),II, pp. 187-88.
2. Ibid, p. 202.
3. Ibid, p. 197.
4. Ibid, pp.199.
5. Ibid, pp. 202-03.

Shahryar Appointed to Qandahar

When Shah Jahan refused to go to Qandahar expedition against Shah Abbass ruler of persia, who had captured Qandahar, this important task was given to prince Shahryar. The prince was promoted to the mansab of 12,000 personnel and 8000 horse and was appointed with gallant officers to recover Qandahar from the invaders of Persia. At this occasion, he was given a special dress of honour with a nadiri with pearl buttons.[1]

A Daughter to Shahryar

The grand daughter of Itimadudaulah gave birth to daughter on September 4, 1623. Jahangir hoped that her advent would be prospitions and blessed to his state.[2] Jahangir does not mention the infant's name. But other sources call her by different names. Blochman calls her Arzani Begum[3] and Mutamad Khan calls her lovingly Lardily Begum.[4]

The above fact obviously present Jahangir's interest and affection for his family. He had confidence on his family members but always remained careful of them and always follow the principle that "kingship regards no kinship," and always put the kingship above all his relations. Though he loved all his family members, but he loved those more and more, who were intelligent and loyal to the Emperor and the empire, which can be seen in the cases of Nur Jahan and early life of prince Khurram before his revolt. But he did not forgave them who were unloyal to the Emperor, and this

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 237.
2. Ibid, p. 276.
3. Ain, (Blochman), p. 311.
4. Iqbalnama, p. 306.

was cause that he did not like the rebellions of his sons Khusrau and Khurram and crushed their revolts bitterly.

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Chapter 6

PERSONAL LIFE OF JAHANGIR

Personal Appearance

Though Jahangir does not give any facts about his personal appearance. But in other sources we found that he was a tall, fair and handsome man with keen, piercing eyes, thick curling eyebrow and flowing whishkers. His broad chest and long arms added to the appearance of vigour and energy. He was of complexion of neither white nor black; but of a middle bitwixt them. He was seemly composition of body.[1] He was social in his habits, polite and engaging in his manners, lively in his conversation, frank and cheerful in his temper.[2] Thomas Roe says that Jahangir was 'very affable' - of a cheerful countenance without pride.[3] He was generous in heart, kindly in disposition and open handed.[4]

Dress

Dress is the mirror of civilization. Nationalities, class, etc. can be distinguished by the mode of one's dress. Dress is influenced in its turn, by the geography of the country;

1. Coryat's Crudities, unpaged, Purchas IV, p. 473; also quoted by Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 118.
2. Hawkins was received with a most kind and smiling countenance and bidden most heartly welcome. Purchas III, p. 71. Terry received a warm welcome and many 'tokens of civility and respect', Terry, p. 440.
3. Thomas Roe, pp. 107, 112.
4. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 432, etc., II, p. 8, Terry, p. 389. Intakhab-i-Jahangiri (E.and D.), VI, p. 448, No king was ever generous and kind to beggars than Jahangir.

the culture of the people inhabiting it, and standard of civilization they have attained. Though the Mughal were the inhabitants of Central Asia, but they were influenced by the Indian culture and geography. We learn from Jahangir that he was very particular in matters of dress. He adopted for himself some certain special cloths and cloth stuffs, and restricted their use to those on whom he chose to confer them. One was a 'Nadiri Coat' which was worn over the qaba, a kind of outer vest. Its length was from the west down to below the thighs, and it had no sleeves. It was fastened in front, with buttons, and called Khurdi by the persians. Jahangir name it 'nadiri'. Another garment was a Tus Shawl, which was adopted by Akbar as a dress, Another was a 'qaba' (coat) with a folded collar (batu giribon). The ends of the sleeves were embroidered. He had also appropriated this to himself. Another was a quaba with boarder, from which the fringes of cloth were cut off and sewn round the skirt and collar and the ends of the sleeves. Another was a qaba of Gujarat satin, and another was a chira and waist-belt woven with silk, in which were interwoven gold and silver threads.[1] Jahangir wore postin, a kind of furcoat in very cold weather.[2] Besides these the shawl, brought from Kashmir, was thrown over the shoulder without a fold. Shawls were manufactured in three main varieties, and the 'Tus' in black and white, the 'Atchah' in various colours and the zordovine or kalabatun worked in gold.[3]

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1. Tuzuk (R. and B.), I, p. 384.
2. Ibid, II, p. 58.
3. Ibid, p. 147.

Head Dress

Jahangir wore the turban in the same style like his father,[1] but decorated with more jewels and with plumes of hernetops, on one side of his sarpich hung an unset ruby as big as wallnut and other side a diomond. He reserved 'the chirah' for himself and for those who were permitted by him to wear it.[2] Many variety of cloth was used for purpose of turban, such as "a kind of zarin cloth costing 1/2 to 8 muhr for the chirah; silk cloth costing Rs. 2 to 1/5 per gaz for the alchah and the cotton cloth costing 1/2 to 4 muhr per piece, for sarpich."[3] Monserrate's opinion about Akbar that he did not cut his hair he needed something in which he could gather them. He adopted a sort of turban small and light, that held light round his head. It was "a long wreath of cloth half yard broad, white or coloured, sometimes interwoven in spaces with threads of silver and gold or coloured silk."[4]

Foot Dress

Though we do not get any information about his footdress. But Thomas Roe who visited India during his reign says that the shape of the shoe was 'sharp and turn up,"[5] made of mardin stuff or the Turkish leather[6] and embroidered in gold[7] or studded with pearls.[8]

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1. Tuzuk, (R.and B.), pp. 56, 2.
2. Thomas Roe, p. 322; Terry, pp. 202-203 the turban, "was very neat, quardrangular in form, a little long but flat at the top."
3. Ain I (Blochman), p. 105, 107, 110.
4. Tuzuk, (R.and B.), I, p. 267.
5. Thomas Roe, p. 322.
6. Thevenot, p. 37.
7. Thomas Roe, p. 322.
8. Thevenot, p. 37.

Jewels

Jahangir took much interest in wearing jewels. He adorned his body with gold ornaments, pearls and jewellery. He wore earing, so that he could be "openly enrolled" as the slave of the revered Khwaja of Ajmer. These became so popular in the court that "both those who were in the presence and some who were on the distant boarders deligently and and eagerly made holes in their ears and adorned the beauty of sincerity with pearls and rubies."[1] Further we learn that he struck into his turban "far auspicious angury," a ruby of one colour weighing 9 tankas and 5 surkhs, which was valued at one lakh and fifty thousand rupees. It was presented to Akbar by his mother Hamida Banu Begam when she saw Jahangir's face at first time after his birth. For many years it was worn by Akbar and Jahangir in their respective sarpiches.[2] Thomas Roe has described fully all the ceremonies at the time of the departure of Jahangir from Ajmer to his camp. According to Thomas Roe, his sash was wreathed about with chains of great pearls, rubies and diamonds all drilled. He also wore a necklase of excellent pearls, three double. About this necklase Roe remarked that he had never seen so great necklase. At its below were armlet set with diamonds "on his wrist three rows of different set of pearls." His hands were bare but every fingure was decorated with a ring. His English gloves were struck under his gridle. His coat was cloth of gold, sleeveless, and hung upon a fine sinabaf, which was 'as thin as lawn'. On his

1. Tuzuk (R. and B.), I, p. 267.
2. Ibid, p. 409.

feet were a pair of embroidered 'bucking', which were also studded with pearls.[1]

Terry also mentions his liking for jewels. According to him, the emperor for the part was clad in garment of pure white and fine callico. So were his nobles. Their garments were washed after one day's of wearing. The diamonds, rubies and pearls worn by him "of extraordinary greatness and of exceedingly big value." He also bedecked himself with long chains of jewels, which hung about his neck, wore them about his wrist and fingures, and studded his swords and daggers with them.[2] The account of Terry, is to be noted for Mughal Emperor Jahangir that "yet I believe that there is never a monarch in the whole world that is daily adorned with so many jewels as he himself is."[3]

Arms carried on Person

The Emperor carried little arms with himself. Most of his arms were kept in Qurkhanah. At the time of his riding and sitting in audience, the sons of the Amirs, the Mansabdars and the ahadis carried the Qur in their hands or upon their shoulders. Nevertheless, he carried some sort of arm with him. Jahangir liked English sword. He once ordered Ustad Puran and Kalyan to "make dagger hills. Out of warlus that was approved at the time." Such a dagger with new hilt, was known as the 'Jahangiri fashion'.

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1. Thomas Row, p. 322.
2. Terry, p. 375.
3. Ibid, p. 373.

He gridled it auspicious by and with joy round his waste. "In short, it was so delicate that I never wish it to be apart from me for a moment."[1] Roe remarks that Jahangir ordered him to send a man, who [illegible] would tie the scarf and sword "in the English fashion." The order was obeyed and he in great pride, walked up and down "drawing and flourishing."[2]

Perfumes

Perfume was popular in the life of the eastern people, especially the kings. Jahangir was fond of perfume. During his reign, the mother of Nur Jahan Begum invented a perfume which was named 'itra-i-Jahangiri'. It was of such strength that if one drop of the perfume be robbed on the palm of the hand, it scented the whole assembly. He waxes eloquent over its good qualities. He remarks: "There is no other scent of equal excellence to it. It restores heart that is gone, and brings back withered soul."[3] About its manufacture Jahangir says that it was making rose water a scum formed on the surface of the dishes into which hot rose water was poured from the jugs and the mixture was collected little by little, when much rose water was obtained a sensible portion of scum was collected and it became strong perfume.[4] In reward for that invention, the inventress received a string of pearls from the Emperor. Salima Sultan Begum named

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 98-93, See also Terry, p. 375.
2. Thomas Roe, p. 119.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 270-71.
4. Ibid.

it 'itra-i-Jahangiri'.[1] Perfume was popular in the reign of Akbar also. Abul Fazl informs us that Akbar was also very fond of perfumes and he had established a separate department for it, in his household, which was known as 'Khushbu-Khanah. He used them for hair, and the skin. The following perfume were used by him, santang, for keeping the skin fresh; 'Argazah' used in summer for keeping the skin cool, Gulganah and zubad.[2] Thus having seen the Jahangir's interest in perfume, it seems that the perfumes of Akbar would be also popular during Jahangir's reign.

FOOD

Sufiana Food

We learn from Jahangir that he ate a fawl with bread during the period of his excess drinking. "The extent of my eating in those days was a fawl with bread and vegitables."[3] Further we find that he ate sufiana food on Sundays, out of respect for his father's birthday, and also on Thursday, because it was his accession day.[4] He had issued an order that no animal should be slaughtered on these days,[5] and also that people should not slaughter animals from the 18th Rabi-ul-awwal, his birthday, every year for the number of days, corresponding the year of his age.[6] The rule was strictly observed so much so that once the Id-al Duhaya fell on a Thursday and his Muslim subjects had to

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 271.
2. Ain I (Blochman), pp. 75-83.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 308.
4. Ibid, pp. 184, II, 309-10.
5. Ibid, pp. 184, pp. 309-10.
6. Ibid, p. 9, Ordinance, No. 11.

forego the scrife that day.[1]

Khichari of Bazra

In December 1618, Jahangir was in the province of Gujarat and here, he heard that the khichari of Bazra or 'Luziza' was one of the peculiar food of the people of the region. As he had never eaten it, he ordered to cook and bring this khichari for himself. This khichari suited him well and he liked it so much that he started taking on the days of obstinence, when he partook of dishes not made of flesh.[2]

Fish

Jahangir was a fine judge of different kind of fish. He did not eat fish without scales, because the fish without scales "eat the flesh of dead animals and fish with scales do not eat it."[3] But he had great liking for fish of good quality, specially the Hindustani 'rahu' and after that Basin. Both had scales and in appearance and shape are like each other.

Flesh of Animals

Jahangir took much interest in flesh of animals. As he had heard that the flesh of nilgaw fawns was delicate and delicious, he ordered the royal cooks to prepare 'du-piyaza', but he

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 185.
2. Ibid, p. 419.
3. Ibid, II, p. 292. About Rohu Jahangir says, "As I am particularly partial to the flesh of fish, especially that of the rohu, which is the best kind of flesh in Hindustan. I was greatly delighted and presented Ray Man a horse who brought the fish," See Ibid, I, p. 414.

did not like it. In his own words "certainly it was not without flavour."[1] He preferred the flesh of the black partidge to that of white one; of large quail (ghaghar) to that of ordinary fighter quail. In the same way, he ordered his cooks to cook the flesh of fat kid and lamb and compared the flesh of the fat kid was more delicious than that of lamb.[2] The above facts clear that he possessed a good sense of appreciation as far as food dishes. He was a fine judge of different kinds of flesh.

The Camels' Milk

Once Jahangir heard the praise of the milk of camel from a physician that it was useful for health. He decided to take it for some days, in expectation that it might do some good to him. Asaf Khan had a persian camel in milk. When he took little of it, he found it more delicious and sweet than that of other camels. And after that he took the milk of the camel for months, 'every day a cup, equal in quantity to half a water' and it proved advantageous and quenched his thrust.[3]

Milk of Antilope

Jahangir tasted the milk of female antilope and did not found it differ from that of cow and bufallo. Jahangir writes that it was considered of great advantageous in asthama.[4]

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.),II, p. 275.
2. Ibid, p. 284.
3. Ibid, p. 46.
4. Ibid, I, p. 148.

Liking for Fruits

Mango and Ananas

Jahangir liked fruits very much. But mango was his favourite fruit. "Of all the fruits I am very fond of mangoes."[1] About Ananas he says that "Among fruits, one which they called ananas (pine apple), which is grown in the Frank Ports, is of excessive fragrance and fine flavour."[2] Further, referring to mangoes of chopraman, in the privince of Agra, he clearly writes, that these were superior to all the mangoes of all other places in India.[3]

Peach

While Jahangir was in Kabul, the attendants brought a peach from 'Istalif, barabar sar-i-buh bakalana' big in size, when it was weighed it came to 60 tolas. He found it very sweet and expressed "I had in Kabul never eaten better fruit from any free." He liked peach and whenever ate it, praised for its sweetness and flavour.[4]

Figs

Referring figs Jahangir informs us that he liked it. When he received some baskets of figs from Rana Amar Singh, he tasted it and found fine in taste. Having tasted it Jahangir

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), p. 5.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid, pp. 332,337.
4. Ibid, pp. 116, 118-19.

remarked that "I had never seen such delicious figs in India, but, one must eat a few of them, it does harm to eat many."[1]

Except these, Jahangir liked so many fruits. In the eleventh year of his reign, his courtier brought a tray of many kinds of fruits - "Kariz melons; melons from Badakhshan and Kabul, grapes from Samarkand and Badakhshan, apples from Samarkand, Kashmir, Kabul and from Jalalabad, which is dependency of Kabul, and pine apples, a fruit that comes from the European parts," plant of which have bee set in Agra.[2] Every year he gathered many thousands plants of the fruits in his private gardens. His liking for fruits can be seen in his following accounts,"My revered father had great liking of fruits, especially for melons, pomegranates and grapes. During his time the Kariz melons, which are the finest kind, and pomegranates from Yezd, which are celebrated throughout the world, and Samarkand grapes had not been brought to Hindustan. Whenever I see these fruits they cause me great regret. Would that such fruit had come in those days, so that he might have enjoyed them."[3]

We find in our text that during Jahangir's reign fruits were imported from long distances for him which he liked. The grapes from Kabul arrived quite fresh in the Deccan "not withstanding a distance of three months."[4]

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 349-50.
2. Ibid, p. 350.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid, p. 404.

Fruits of Kashmir

Jahangir tasted many fruits of Kashmir and compared them that of other places. He says about the 'Shah-alu' that before Akbar's time there was no Shah-alu in India. Muhammad Quli brought it from Kabul and planted it. It was not inferior than that of Kabul and planted it. It was not inferior that of Kabul. About its taste he writes that, "the shah-alu to my taste is better than most fruits."[1]

The apritcot of Kashmir was also liked by him but a tree in Shahr-ara garden at Kabul, called 'Mirzai' was the best fruit 'better than which I had not eaten'. He liked the nospati of Kashmir more than that of Kabul, Badakhshan and Samarkand. The apple from Kashmir were celebrated for their goodness. The guavas were middling. The grapes were plentiful, but most of them were harsh and inferior, and the pomegranates were not worth much. The melons of Kashmir were very sweet and creased, but the most part when they became ripe a worm was found in them that spoiled them. The mulberies (shahfut) were not fit to eat, with the exception of some trees.[2] The above description of fruits of so many kinds and Jahangir's interest in them declare that he liked fruits too much. He tasted all the fruits and pointed out either they were delicious or not. He was so much impressed by some fruits, that he named them, such as he found four trees, who had borne fruit, in Nurafza garden in Kashmir.

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.) II, p. 145.
2. Ibid, pp. 145-56, 159.

He named one of them 'Shīrīn-bar', the second 'khus-guar', the third, which bore the most fruit, 'purbar' and the fourth, which had less fruit, 'Kamber'. Another tree in Khurram's garden, which had borne fruit, was name 'Shahwar'. An young plant, in the little of 'Ishrat-afza' in Kashmir was named 'Nau-bar' (New fruit).[1]

DRINKING

Drinking wine was popular since the time of early Mughals. Babar took wine regularly. One of his drinking party he describes vividly in his memoirs. Having ridden out for the mid day prayers for an excursion he writes "we got in a boat and Arad was drunk... we drank in the boat till the bedtime prayers; then getting out of it, full of drinks, we mounted, took torches in our hands, went to the camp from river bank, leaving over on our horses on this side, leaving from that, at one loose rein gallop. Very drunk I must have been for when they told me, next day that we had galloped loose rein into the camp, I could record it in the very least."[2] Jahangir has recorded that Babar got ponds carved out of rock on the slopes of a hill, situated to the south of city of Kabul, known as 'Takht-i-Shah, a stone terrace was carved by Babar, where he sat and drank wine. He caused his own blessed name with the date to be carved on the wall of the terrace in the wording "The seat of the king, the asylum of the world, Zahiruddin

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 159.
2. Tuzuk-i-Babari, p. 303.

Muhammad Babar, son of Umar Shaikh Gurgan, may God perpetuate his kingdom, 914 (1508-9)."[1]

About Humayun's indulgence in drinking, no elaborate description is found. But in those days wine parties were common and feast without wine was not said a complete feast. The very existence of Suchi Kanah[2] can be said a clear proof that wine was favoured and kept in the Imperial house hold.

Akbar also drank wine. Jahangir's account 'I never heard my father in his cups or sober mind'[3] makes us confirm. We also learn from Abul Fazl that he drank wine moderately. An account of liquor distilling in his reign.[4]

But Jahangir was true grandson of his great grand father. He loved wine, and took it in his whole life. When he was a child he took it thrice by his mother and wetnurses, "by way of infatile remedy'. Jahangir writes in his memoirs, "they asked for a little spirit from my father to the extent of a total mixed with water, and rose water to take away cough, designating it as a medicine."[5]

In his princehood, he drank the first cup of wine at the age of fifteen. While hunting near, Attok he felt tired. A gunner of the nami of Ustad Shah Quli suggested him to take a

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 108.
2. Tuzuk-i-Babari, p. 648.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.)I, p. 2.
4. Ain (Blochmann), pp. 68, 69, 70.
5. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 307.

cup of wine, which "would drive away the feeling of being tired and heavy." The prince sent Akbar (Person incharge of drinking water), to the house of Hakim Ali to bring intoxicating draught. Jahangir records "He sent me the amount of one and a half of cups of yellow wine of a sweet taste in a little bottle. I drank it and found its quality agreeble."[1] After that he took to drinking wine and developed it from day to day, until 'wine made from grapes ceased to intoxicate' him. Then he took to drinking arad (spirit), and 'by degrees during nine years" he increased the quantity "twenty cups of doubly distilled spirit, fourteen during the day time and the remaining by night."[2] Jahangir himself says that the weight of the twenty cups of that doubly distilled spirit was "six Hindustani seers and one and half maunds of Iran." Further we learn from Jahangir that in that state (of drinking) no one had power to forbid him and he made himself such edicted that "in the carpulous state from the excessive trempling of my hand. I could not drink from my own cup, but others had to give it to me to drink."

This state continued for nine years. After that when his health decreased, he consulted physician Hakim Human,[3] who suggested without any hasitation that "in six months matter will come to such a pass that there will be no remedy for it." His

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 307-8. In his 18th year according to Lunnar calender. See on Regulations No. 5, p. 8.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 8, 308.
3. Hakim Human was the brother of Hakim Abu-I-Qath, who was of the most intimate with my revered father and informed him my state. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 308.

suggestion impressed the prince and from that day he began to diminish the number of his cups. Soon after he began to take arrad, diluted with grape wine, so as two parts grape wine and one part araq. In course of seven years he brought it down to six cups, each cup of 18 1/4 misqah and after that for fifteen years he drank in this rate 'neither less nor more'. Only at night[1] except on the day of Thursdays. As Friday is the prelude to be a blessed day for Islam, he did not drink on Fridays.[2]

When Jahangir ascended the throne he was not the same drunkard of his youth. Now he was only taking his cups of wine to digest his food.[3] After his accession, though he drank wine but he had issued an order that 'they should not make wine or rice spirit (dilbahra) or any kind of intoxicating drug or sell them."[4]

He enjoyed wine parties in the company of his friends. Feasts were held on every Thursday, in which wine was freely used.[5] He did not leave his drinking on his tours. Near the Hasan Abdal, at an 'inchanting place' he took his cups of wine with his intimates.[6] At Salingarh near Delhi, he enjoyed with

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1. Tuzuk R.and B.), I, pp. 38, 308-9.
2. Ibid, p. 309, Jahangir clearly says 'I drink at the end of these two exceptions'.
3. Ibid, p. 8.
4. Ibid.
5. For Thursday Feasts Consult, Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp.168-342, 371, 404, 409,435; II, pp. 7, 177.
6. Ibid, I, p. 99.

wine cups for four days continuously.[1] In the Kashmir he tasted Buzah, but did not like it. In his opinion the Kashmiri wine commonly known as 'Mas' was sour and inferior.[2]

Like his great grandfather he took his cups of wine with his courtiers and offered also to his servants.[3] As Babar got ponds carved out of rock and filled them with wine, and on the slopes of a hill, situated to the south of the city of Kabul, known as Takht-i-Shah a stone terrace was carved out by Babar, where he sat and drank wine. There was carved 'around basin' which could hold two Hindustani maunds of wine. Jahangir, also, ordered to cut out of stone, another throne parallel to that of Babar's and to dig another basin of the same fashion on its side, and also ordered to engrave his names along with his ancestors upto Timur. Every day, he sat on that throne and ordered them to fill both of the basin with wine and gave also the servants who were present there. This state continued till he remained in Kabul.[4]

Whenever he visited to the houses of Itimadu-daullah or or Asaf Khan, they entertained him through grand wine parties.[5] But he could not be considered as g a great drunkard, who losses his sense. This condition continued only for few years while he was prince. After his accession, he only drank to digest his food or to take rest to his mind.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.),I, p. 137.
2. Ibid, pp. 127, 146.
3. Ibid, pp. 168, 197, 319.
4. Ibid, pp.108-9, 121.
5. Ibid, pp. 319, 388.

Personal Habit

Opium

Opium was favoured by Akbar also. He was addicted to it and whenever he took it, fruit was brought before him in trays (Khwanchah) by fruit carriers (Miwahdaran).[1] Jahangir started taking opium by the advice of his physicians to decrease his daily cups of wine, first substituted 'Filuniyah; which was made of possibly opium.[2] He increased its quantity in proportion he decreased his cups of wine and after sometime he substituted opium for filuniyah.[3] In the beginning, it became his practice to take opium first of all work in the morning. But in April 1606 he stopped this practice to take in morning.[4] By 46th year of his age, as he recorded, "I eat eight surkhs of opium when five gharis of day have passed, and six surkhs after one watch of night."[5] It seems that he took opium before taking rest. When five gharis of day would had passed, he might be free from Jharokha, one watch after night means, being free from Gusal Khana before going to his bed.

The Ganges Water

Jahangir usually drank Ganges water, whenever he went out, his drinking water was carried in a gold tray, which mostly

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1. Ain, (Blochman), I, p. 65.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 308, n.3.
3. Ibid, pp. 308-9.
4. Ibid, I, p. 54.
5. Ibid, I, p. 310.

contained a salver and cups. They bore coverings and the whole of it was placed in a 'cotton bag'. Thus no water or dust could get into it. Once the man who carried the water slipped and the water bag fell into deep and rapidly running water. It may there for a period exceeding twelve hours. Jahangir remarks, "Though turned up side down, not a drop of water has gone into cups."[1] Terry also says that water jars were made of "fine copper and were excellently well-tinned from inside." At the time of delivery to the bearer, they were usually checked by the officer concerned. Either the water was carried into two jars upon the shoulders of men or was transported on the back of the camel.[2]

Hunting

The Mughal Emperors were extremely fond of hunting. During their reign, special shikargah (hunting grounds) were set aside for the emperor's use. During the Akbar's time Bari, Hisar, sunnam, Bhatinda, Bhatnir, Nagawar were the hunting groups.[3] Like his father Jahangir had also hunting grounds in Sahara, Nandanah, Barchad, Jalalabad, Samarkand and Jahangirabad.[4] There was a private department of huntmen (Qarawals) to

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.) II, p. 291.
2. Terry, p. 119.
3. Ain (Blochman), p. 286.
4. Tuzuk (R.and B.) II, pp. 4, 40, Iqbalnama, pp. 21,30,59,171.

guard the hunting grounds. When the emperor's camp passed in the neighbourhood, the guards (Qarawals) informed the emperor about the game.

Jahangir was so much fond of hunting that during his reign the evening darbar in the camp was held at night and at evening he went to enjoy hunting. The period of hunting depended upon the interest of the emperor. Jahangir once indulged in the pleasure of shikar for three months and six days continuously. He enjoyed in all sorts of shikar that of tiger or lions, of elephants and crocodile, of chitah and blue bulls, of wild buffalloes, antilopes, nilgai cranes, mountainships, mountain goats, wild asses, water fowls and so many other animals and birds. A large number of men took part in it.[1] The flesh of hunted animals was distributed among the poor.[2] An records of the animals and birds, killed by the Emperor, was preserved by the chroniclers. Jahangir most proudly records them in his memoirs. At a occasion, being impressed with a favourite tamed deer, of rare quality after its death Jahangir prohibited the hunters to kill deers of such kind and said "their flesh should be to Hindus and Musalmans as is the flesh of cows and pigs." He ordered to made its grave stone in the shape of a deer.[3]

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 43, 83,120,121,125,202,204,276,342, 344,369,405; II, pp. 182, 84,97,229. Iqbalnama, pp. 21,30, 59,171; Thomas Roe, 383;
2. Terry, pp. 402, 403.
3. Roe, pp. 156,250, 284, 86; Finch, p. 184.
4. Tuzuk (R.and B.),I, p. 91.

Jahangir gave up killing the animal and any living being with his hand when attained the age of his fifty years, according to the vow which he had with God for the safety of his grandson (son of Shahjahan). But after five years, when he was greatly distressed by Shahjahan's rebellion, he took again to sporting with gun.[1]

Tiger or Lion Hunt

The Mughals mostly shot the beast by a gun from an uncovered hawdah, placed on the back of an elephant. This method was also adopted by Jahangir. He ran great risks in killing the animal.[2] Referring his father Akbad, Jahangir say that 'He had no rival in shooting with a gun, and with the one with which he killed Jitmal, and which was called sangram; he killed some 3,000 or 4,000 birds and beasts.[3] I may be reckoned a true pupil of his.'.[4] Thus, Jahangir seems very proud of his father's markmanship. Jahangir was shooting only male tigers with his gun. But once he was desirous of showing his skill in shooting with a gun to Kanwar Karan. Just a that time the shikaris (qarawulan) brought in news of a tigress. But no other tiger might be obtained before the departure of Kanwar Karan, he decided to shoot the tigress and took Kanwar Karan with him and said that, "I would hit it wherever he wished me to do so." After that they went to the place where the tigress was marked

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 36,37, 236-37.
2. Ibid, p. 270. See also Pelsairt, p. 53.
3. Abul Fazl (Blochman), p. 116, says that Akbar killed 1,019 animals with sangram.
4. Ibid, I, p. 45.

down. Karan said him to shoot in the eye of the tigress. Unfortunately there came a wind and disturbance in the air, and the female elephant on which they were mounted terrified of the tigress and would not stand still. "I shoot strait towards her eye. Almighty God did not allow me to ashamed before that prince."[1] Once Jahangir received news from his huntman the lion was seen in the neighbourhood of the Shankartank, inside the fort of Malwa. At once he mounted and went to that game. When the lion appeared he charged the ohadis and the retinue and wounded ten or twelve of them and at lost "I finished his business with three shots from my gun; and removed his evil from the servants of God."[2] Jahangir remarks, "I have such a liking for tiger shooting, that whilst I can get it I do not go after other sports."[3] By the 50th lunar year of his age he had killed eighty six tigers with his own hand.[4] We see Jahangir's extraordinary bravery in shooting of tigers. Once he had gone out to hunt tigers in Punjab. A powerful tiger appeared out of the wood. He fired at him from his elephant and the tiger in great fury rose and reached on the elephant's back and "I had not time to put down my gun and seize my sword. Investing the gun, I knelt, and with both hands struck him with the stockover the head and face so that he fell on to

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1. Tuzukk (R.and B.), II, pp. 286-87.
2. Ibid, I, p. 371.
3. Ibid, II, p. 269.
4. Ibid, I, p. 369.

to ground and died."[1] Once he went to hunt a tiger at the information of huntsmen, who had appeared in the neighbourhood of his camp. When he entered the forest, three other tigers became visible, he killed all the four tigers.[2]

Another method adopted to hunt tiger was to led a male bufallo, with a rider upon its back, to attack the tiger. The bufallo used its horns against the onslaught of the tiger, flund him upward, consequently depriving him of his life. Tigers were hunted in this form whenever a large number of them had assembled in a place. They were trapped in circle. About a hundred or more of bufalloes were led into the attack at the night. When they sighted the beasts they formed a circle, taking the prey in their midst. Trapped animals tried their level best to get out of the ring, springing in the direction best suited, but the bufalloes with great dexerity seized them by their horns and tore them as under. Those that escaped the ring of doom were shot by the Emperor and his retinue. Bufalloes were ridden by men, who carried naked swords in their hands. When the tigers sprang the rider jumped off the back of the buffaloes with agitity. Having killed the beast, the officers packed in a sack, seated it and brought it to the Emperor's tent, where they accurately measured the size, length, the dimension of its claws etc. and recorded its colour and the date of the kill.[3]

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 270.
2. Ibid, p. 269.
3. Ain (Blochman), I, 283, Tuzuk (R.and B.) I, 287, II, 270, 284 gives a little accounts. Palsairt, pp. 52,53; Bernier, pp. 278, 79.

Jahangir was a brave and courageous hunter. He never liked to leave a chance to shoot the tiger to whom he saw or about whom he got any news. Once he shooted a tiger from the horse back, and fell in great danger when tiger did not die, nevertheless he did not loose his courage and fired again and again with his gun, and remained there till the tiger was killed, while most of his officers became purrled.[1]

Elephant Hunt

To hunt and tame the elephant was popular in India from a long time. Though hunting of an elephant was a dangerous and riskiy spot, but Akbar was also interested in hunting and taming elephants. But we learn from Jahangir that he watched them being caught from the top of a tree where a wooden plantform was prepared for him. From all sides of that platform there was arrangements of seats on other trees for the Amirs. He has referred to a elephant hunt which he had joined. His servants had got ready 200 male elephants with strong noses, and many female elephants. On each elephant there were seated two elephant drivers,[2] and "it had been arranged that they should bring a wild elephants from the jungle into my presence, that I might witness the hunt." When the men from all sides entered the jungle, in consequence of the thickness of the forest and the height, and hollows, they broke the chain, but the order of the

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 185-87.
2. The Jorga tribe, are whose profession was the hunting of elephants. Abul Fazl (Jarret), II, p. 250 call them, Jareja.

qamurgah did not remain perfect. The wild elephants in be wilderment turned in every direction, but twelve male and female came to the side of Jahangir. As fear was that they might escape, they (Shikari) drove in the tame elephants and tied them (wild elephants) up, wherever they were found and only two were caught, who were very handsome in shape of good breed and perfect marks. They were named by Jahangir, 'Ravan Sar' and 'Rawan Sar'.[1] The above facts declares the Jahangir's interest in hunting of elephants. Though the hunting place was in a hilly country, "with elevations, and depression, a passage is obtained with difficulty by one on foot."[2]

Hunting with Chitah

The Mughals used chitah (leopard) for hunting deer or buck.[3] This was a favourite game of hunting. The chitah were trained to hunt bucks. They adopted all sorts of tricks to entice the victim. They generally went against the wind, smelling the scent of the prey. They raised the dust with hind feet, thus placing a dust screen in between themselves and the prey. They lay flat on the ground camauflaging themselves in a way that it was difficult to distinguish them from the surface of the ground. In a day, one chitah would sometimes catch twelve deers. "If it missed its prey" remarks Bernier, "it stood perfectly still."[4] The keeper went and after great solicitation managed

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.) II, pp. 4-5.
2. Ibid, II, pp. 4,12 for catching of elephants Sec. 2.
3. Ibid, p. 40.
4. Bernier, pp. 376-77.

to enchain him. Chitahs were, sometimes let loose right from the place the deer was seen. They sprang swiftly and caught the prey. At another occasions, chitahs were released and the prey was sighted to them. They took cover behind bushes and other natural obstacles until they came within the range of the deer. They leapt, all of a sudden, and gripped the prey. Another method restored was to set the chitahs free and to move their carts in the opposite direction, thus perplexing the deer. In the meantime the chitah would advance towards its foe, and successfully prey it. Another method, which was invented by Akbar was called chatra mandal. In this method the deer were hunted by the chitah in qamurgah manner. Large number of deer were first encircled and then many cheetahs were let loose from many direction. Thus, in a short time a large number of deer were caught. "Many leopards are well trained, remarks pelsaart, "that they never or seldom miss."[1] Hawkins says that there were 400 tamed chitahs among the tamed animals of Jahangir for the purpose of sport.[2]

Deer Hunt

Jahangir remarks that once he killed twenty antilopes with arrow, Parvez, Khurram, Khan Jahan and other servants also took part in it.[3] This was favourite game of Jahangir. The hunt of the deer was conducted in different manners which included the qamarghah hunting with the chitah, employing tamed buck to hunt the wild bucks and enticing or shooting in with arrows in torch

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.) II, p.40, For details see, Ain (Blochman), p. 288, A.N.(Beveridge), I, p.680; II, p. 539; Palsaert, pp. 51,52, J. of Indian Arts, Vol.17, April, 1916, pt.IV.
2. Hawkins, p. 105.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 129.

light. Jahangir was very fond of hunting red deers.[1] He, by the 50th year of his age had killed about 215 red deers.[2] "Jainamaz (prayer carpet)" remarks Jahangir, "should be made of the skin of the antelopes that I had myself killed, and be kept in the public audience hall for people to use in saying their prayers."[3]

Hunting Deer with Deer

Jahangir according to his vow had stopped killing deer with his gun or arrow. Then he decided to capture them by Qamurghah hunt and "place them within the chongon (Polo-ground) of Fathpur, so that I might both enjoy the pleasure of sport and that at the same time no harm should be happen to them. I accordingly took 700 head and sent them to Fathpur."[4] Though Jahangir does not mention the method of capturing them, but in other sources we find that a stone as big ball was tied to the leg of a tamed deer by means of rope and it was lift him to graze in field. The wild deer came to fight with it, the result being its own capture. The net got entangled in the horns of the wild deer. The tamed deer sprang and pulled the strangs when it felt that the nose had caught the foe; the victim could not run away. Even if it was able to drag the tamed deer, heavy fetters would not it to go a far. The hunters, who always lay in ambush, rushed and captured it.[5] Jahangir had tamed 3,000

1. Tuzuk,(R.and B.), I, pp. 120-21, 122.
2. Ibid, p. 125.
3. Ibid, II, p. 203.
4. Ibid, p. 83.
5. Ju, T.B., p. 491; Ain (Blochman), p. 299; Palsaerl, pp.51-52.

deer or buck for the purpose of sports.[1]

Hunting of Alligators

Alligators existed in most of the rivers of Hindustan and 'grow very large'.[2] None of the Mughal Emperor hunted alligators except Jahangir. He shot an alligator in the tank at Dhar. Only its snaut was visible over the surface of the water and the whole body was hidden in the water. "I fired at a guess." Writes Jahangir, "and hit him in his lungs and killed him with a single shot." He had killed ten alligators upto the age of his fifty years.[3]

Hunting of Nilgaw

The blue bull, commonly know as nilgaw in India, is very common even today. Jahangir took much interest in hunting of nilgaw. He hunted it in the qamurgah hunt or shot it with gun. By the age of his fifty year, he had killed 889 nilgaws. Once he hunted a male nilgaw (blue bull) from a distance of forty five qadams. "I do not remember a bullet passing through a large male nilgaw," writes Jahangir, "many had passed through female." He killed 27 blue bulls during a period of four months, on his tour from Ajmer to the Deccan.[4] The qamurgah of the nilgaw was, more or less, a full scale of slaughter of animal. The retinue

1. Hawkins, pp. 103-4.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 409, "an alligator is of crocodile species once I saw an alligator of the size 8 gazlong and 1 gaz breath.
3. Ibid, pp. 369, 408-9.
4. Ibid, p. 368, II, p. 40.

joined in the bag. They killed them with swords, pikes, arrows and muskets. Their flesh was distributed among the Umara.[1]

Hunting with Dogs

Though Jahangir has not recorded this method in his memoirs. But Hawkins reports us that there were four hundred hunting dogs and grey hounds in the palace of Jahangir.[2] The shikari dogs, known as 'tazi' were kept to hunt all sorts of animals. One keeper looked after two dogs, who got 100 dams per month as his salary.[3]

Hunting of other Animals

Jahangir hunted so many other animals. In his memoirs he has recorded that till the age of his fifty year he had killed sixty four wolves, thirty six wild bufalloes, ninety pigs, twenty two mountainships, six wild asses, thirty two arghalis and twenty three hares.[4] Thus, we see that hunting was Jahangir's favourite amusement. He killed or caught the animals, according to his desire, whomever he saw during the period of his hunting.

Shikar of Birds and Hawking

It was a favourite sport of Jahangir, "certainly of all hunting amusement" remarks Jahangir, "This is the best. I was

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.) I, p. 190, see also Bernier, p. 217.
2. Hawkins, p. 105.
3. Ibid, pp. 103-4, he says that there were 400 hunting dog and grey hounds in the palace of Jahangir.
4. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 60.

exceedingly pleased with it." Hawks were brought or bred. A separate department, composed of many officers and servants, looked after royal hawks. Hawks, being a general term for the bird of prey, does not distinguish one species of it from the other. Different types of hawks and falcom were kept by the Emperor. The rank of each kind was fixed. They were taught to prey a flying bird or to catch the water fawl on the surface of water while it swam. When a particular falcon caught a bird, bakhshish (reward) was given to the Mir-i-Shikar (keeper). It was distributed according to a fixed proportion among the keepers. Jahangir, so much liked hawking and catching water fawl with falcons that he always carried boats with him on his march.[1] Hawkins reports us that there were four thousand hawks in possession of Jahangir.[2]

Crane and Saras Hunt

Jahangir liked hunting of Crane with falcon after he saw Shah Jahan's hunting of crane with falcon. "Until now I had never seen the hunting of a durna (crane) with the falcon." Further Jahangir remarks "at his request, I rode out early in the morning, and caught one durna myself." Jahangir also liked to catch saras with falcon. "Although the saras is large" he writes, "it is lazy and heavy on the wing. The chase of the durna has resemblance to it. I praise the heart and courage of

1. Tuzuk, (R.and B.), II, pp. 40,53,60, See also Roe, p. 383.
2. Hawkins, p. 103.

falcon that can seize such strong bodied animals, and with the strength of histalons can subdue them."[1] In pleasure, Jahangir rewarded Hasan Khan, the chief huntman of his son Shah Jahan, an elephant, a horse, and a dress of honour from whom he learnt the sport of hunting crane with falcons. Shah Jahan also received reward on this occasion.[2] We learn from Abul Fazl that crane, lulang or saras was not allowed to be hunted by any one within twelve league distance of Agra, Delhi and Lahore.[3]

Catching of other Birds

Besides the method mentioned above many other advices were adopted to catch the birds. Till the fifty year of his age Jahangir had hunted or caught "13,964 birds, viz., pegions, 10,348; lagarjhagar (a species of hawk), 3; eagles 2, qaliwaj (qalibaz; kite), 23; owls (chughd), 29; qantan, 12; kites, (mush khwur, mice eater), 5; sparrows, 41; doves, 25; owls (bun), 30; ducks, geese, cranes etc. 150; crows 3,276."[4] Though Jahangir does not mention the methods of catching birds in the following manner. But we learn from Abul Fazl that a tamed patridge (durraj) by singing in cage enticed many of its kind into the net, which was laid near it. Nets hung about the body of a lagar caught other lagars. By producing the noise of owls they attracted budnahs which were caught in the light of burning

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.) II, p. 60.
2. Ibid.
3. Ain (Blochman), p. 295.
4. Tuzul (R.and B.), I, p. 369.

straws. Owls and ghawghais were entangled into nets by placing a captured owl and a 'ghawghai' near each other. Both made noise and attracted their supportiers, who coming near helped their friend were captured in the net. Sparrows were trained to hunt frogs, crows to hunt other birds, and udah babar to hunt small birds.[1] Hawkins informs us that there were four thousand singing birds in possession of Jahangir.[2]

Fishing

Fishing was another favourite sport of Jahangir. Once he spent three days in catching fish by means of sufra net, "which in Hindi they call bhanwar Jal." It is not easy to throw, I threw it with my own hand and caught twelve fish, and pitting-pearls into their noses, let them loose in water."[3] Jahangir informs us his another fishing in Mahi, when he caught a large fish with scales; who fell into his net. "I first told my son Shah Jahan, to try his sword on them. After this I ordered the Amirs to strike them with the sword.... These fish were divided among the servants who were present there."[4]

Amusement and Games

The Emperor entertained himself by somany outdoor and indoor games. Though Jahangir gives a little account of his

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1. Ain (Blochman), pp. 295-96.
2. Hawkins, p. 105.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 99.
4. Ibid, II, p. 8. For his interest in fishing see Ibid, I, pp. 188, 436.

amusement. But Abul Fazl and the contemporary European travellers, who visited India during the period of Jahangir, inform us about the games in detail by which the Emperor entertained himself.

Animal Fight

Jahangir in his early youth had taken part in elephant fight. He mounted on a elephant after taking two or three cup of wine and sent for another elephant and "made the two elephant fight."[1] The fighting of elephant was an exclusive privilege of the Emperor. It was the sport of the king. They matched their skill on the ground infront of Jhorokha. The royal haram and umara watched the fight with the Emperor. The people, in large number gathered to witness the sport. Hawkins reports us that during the reign of Jahangir elephants fight was held five times in a week.[2] De Laet referring the Darshan (Jharokha) says that "the king show himself here also at noon, when he looks on at the thamasha, i.e., the contest, of elephants, lions, buffaloes and other wild beasts, which take place every day except Sundays."[3] Jahangir informs us about a fight of a bull and a tiger. "Many people gathered to see the show" remarks Jahangir, "and a band of Jogis (religious mendicants) with them. One of the Jogis was naked, and a tiger, by way of sport, and not with the idea of

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 41.
2. Hawkins, p. 108.
3. De Laet, (H.and B.), p. 97.

rage, turned towards him. It threw him on the ground and began to behave to him as it would to his own female. The next day and on several occasions the same thing took place."[1] Mutamad Khan also says the same story, where he says that the tiger was one, brought by a calendar as a present. It had the name of Lal Khan and was very tame. The tiger did not injury to the jogi with his claws or teeth.[2]

Polo (Changan)

The game of polo is quite old in origin. Jahangir referring a deer hunt says that "it occurred to me to take them all alive, and place them within the changan (polo-ground) of Fathpur, so that I might both enjoy the pleasure of sports."[3] The above fact assirts that the emperor took part in the game of polo. According to Abul Fazl, in this game teams were chosen by chasting of tie. Usually ten players took part in it, two of them retiring after a ghari (45 minutes). Their vacancy was filled by two others. The game was played in two ways. Either the bale was carried from the centre to the hal (goal) with the crooked end of the chawgan stick. The ball in this case was fitted with a ring (halqah). This form of polo was known as roll in India. Or else the game was conducted to and fro, the players batting the ball towards their appartment's goal. It was also known as Ballah.[4]

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 157.
2. Iqbalnama, p. 37.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 83.
4. Ain (Blochman), I, p. 298, A.N. (Beveridge), II, pp.358, 408, III, p. 614, seel also Asraf, p. 289.

Horse Racing

This game was popular since the time of Delhi Sultans.[1] But in Mughal period, only during the reign of Jahangir. This game was held. We find in the text that Jahangir ordered the race horses (as pan-i-dawindah) to be brought before him. The princes and the amirs raced them. "A bay Arab horse, which adil Khan, the ruler of the Deccan had sent to me," unites Jahangir, "ran better than all the other horses."[2]

Wrestling

Wrestling was an excercise practiced by all the people, from the king to ordinary man, to keep themselves fit. Jahangir was so much fond of wrestling that once when he was giving leave to the ambassadors of Adil Khan of Bijapur, he had requested that "if in that province there were a wrestler, or a celebrated swordman, they should tell Adil Khan to send him to me." When the ambassadors returned, they brought a Mughal, named Sher Ali, who was born at Bijapur and was a professional wrestler and had great experience in the art, together with certain sword players. He put Sher Ali to wrestler with his own wrestlers and attitudes. None of his wrestlers and athletes competed with him. He rewarded Sher Ali with one thousand rupees, a dress of honour and an elephant, and appointed him in his own service with the title of "the athlete of the capital." A jagir and masab were given to him and great favour was bestowed on him.[3] The sport of wrestling

1. Amir Ali, p. 197; K.M. Asraf, p. 287.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 110.
3. Ibid, p. 335.

was popular since the times of Babar and continued in the reign of Hymayun and Akbar also.[1] Thus, we see that Jahangir liked the sport of wrestling and had the good wrestling with him.

Music and Story

Jahangir showed his much regard to music and story. Sometimes he entertained himself with music and story and remarked them according to their merit. Once he heard some musical pieces from musician of Shah Jahan, named Ustad Muhammad Nayi (flute-player), who was found unequalled in his craft. The musician played a tone which he had composed for an ode (gazal) in the name of the Emperor. Being pleased with him, Jahangir ordered him to be weighed against rupees, which came to 63,000 rupees and gave him an elephant. He ordered the Ustad to ride on the elephant, and after packing his money, to return to his lodging.[2] Further we find that some Delhi singers were singing songs and Sayyid-i-Shah was, "by way of bufoanery, mimicking a religious dance" before him on the following verse of Amir Khusrau -

"Each nation has its right road of faith and its shrine (qibla gahi)
I have set up my shrine (qibla) on the path of him with the cocked cap."[3]

The arrangement of music was held at every function. Jahangir clearly remarks "After the conclusion of the weighment, trays of gold and silver were poured out by way of nisar (coin scattering) into the hope-skirts of the minister of amusement

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1. T.B., pp. 631, 660; A.N. (Beveridge), III, 482.
2. Ruzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 136.
3. Ibid, p. 169; see also p. 173 for religious dance.

(ahl-i-nisat)."[1] The facts says that Jahangir had established a department of amusement and had appointed a minister to look after it.

The Emperor also took interest in story. He rewarded the story ~~teller~~ on good stories. Referring a story teller named Mulla Muhammad, he writes: "As he was a reciter and a story teller full of sweetness and smartness. I like his society; and I made him happy with the title of Mahzuz Khan, and gave him 1,000 rupees, a dress of honour, a horse, and an elephant and a palaqin."[2] He was weighed against money, which was given to him and Jahangir, increasing his mansab, ordered him to be present at the meetings of talk.[3]

Belief in Astrology

The Astrologers played a very important part in the court of the Great Mughal. They prepared horoscope of the new born child, they fixed the time for the Emperor to start on an expedition or to enter the capital, they predicted certain events quite after correctly, whose sources they might have manipulated by some indirect means so as to gain the confidence of their patron, they arranged an auspicious time for the Emperor to begin the work such as journey or other important work and received

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 215.
2. Ibid, p. 377.
3. Ibid, I, p. 377.

reward handsomely.[1] Jahangir's belief in the prediction of Jotik Roy was immense. Few interesting oneedotes are reported in the annals of his reign. Once he reported the Emperor about Prince Shah Shuja, the grandson of the Emperor that "it was predicted from the prince's horoscope that these three or four months were unpropitious to him, and it was possible he might fall down from some high place, but that the dust of calamity would not settle on the skirt of his life."[2] The death of Badshah Banu Begam was predicted two months earlier according to the same astrologer.[3]

In another instance a pearl of great value was lost in the harem. Jotik Roy represented that it would be found in two or three days. Sadiq Khan Rammal (sooth sager) represented the same two or three days "it would come from a place which was perfectly clean and pure, such as the place of worship or oratory." An female soothsayer represented that "it would soon be found and that a woman with white skin would bring it." According to astrologers, on the third day a Turkish girl found it in oratory and presented before the king. All the above mentioned astrologers received handsome reward from the Emperor.[4] Jahangir in his memoirs confesses that prosperity and bad luck depend on four

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.) II, pp. 215, 235.
2. Ibid, pp. 152-53.
3. Ibid, pp. 159-60.
4. Ibid, p. 235.

things, a wife, a slave, a house and a horse.[1] According to astrologers, he had considered some days auspicious and other inauspicious; Wednesday was called Kham-Shambha and Thursday Mubarak Shambha.[2] Jahangir's belief in astrology was very great; neither any journey was undertaken nor any resolve made nor any undertaking begun, unless the astrologer was consulted.[3] Pelsairt remarks that the Emperor kept Brahmin astrologers at his court "whose forecast had proved to be correct."[4]

Interpretation of Dream

Dreams according to the Mughals, cast the shadows of coming events. Jahangir dreamt one particular night in day that Akbar said him "Baba, forgive for my sake the fault of Aziz Koka, who is the Khan Azam." After that Jahangir considered it as the direction of his father, he called Khan Azam, from the fort of Gwallior where he was imprisoned and released him.[5]

Love of Nature

Gardening

Jahangir was almost invariably very fond of national beauty. His love of it found expression in several ways. Referring the Indian flower in the garden Gut-Afsam, Jahangir remarks that

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.) I, p. 235.
2. Ibid, II. pp. 229, 327.
3. Ibid, I, p. 235.
4. Pelsairt, p. 220.
5. Supra, P-219

"from the excellencies of its sweet scented flowers one may prefer the fragrances of India to those of the flowers of the whole world. It has many such that nothing in the whole world can be compared to them." In the same manner he praised Champa, Keoria, beli, mulsari, ketaki, chameli for its sweet scent.[1] He also mentions the trees found in Agra in his memoirs, such as "of trees there are the cypress (sarw), the pine (sanubar), the chanar (plantan orientalis), the white poplar (safidar populas alba) and the bid Mulla (willow)" which were not found in Hindustan, were brought by Babar in India. The chandan tree which was peculiar only in India island, was also planted in the garden.[2] We see Jahangir's keen interest in inspection of gardening. He inspected all the gardens of Hindustan, as he declared about some trees, which were not found in Hindustan. His love for gardens can be seen in his memoirs that he always halted in pleasing gardens. He expresses his pleasure on that "God be praised that in this age-enduring state no tax has ever been levied on the fruit of trees, and is not levied now. In the whole of the dominion not a dam nor one grain (habba)[3] on this account enters the public treasury, or collected by the state."[4]

The garden was brought to perfection and at all places where the Emperor so journed for any length of time one of these

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.),I, pp. 5-7, for his love for keora and champa, see, Ibid, pp. 387-88.
2. Ibid, pp. 6-7.
3. A Weight, one habba = two barley grain, see Ain II (Blochman), p. 36.
4. Tuzuk (R.and B.)II, p. 52.

gardens was generally prepared. His example was followed by his courtiers and other who too built similar retreats in various places in India. Asaf Khan's Nishat Bagh in Kashmir is the best case in point.[1] It is to him that we owe the Dilkhusha Garden of Shah Dara, and the Badami Bagh in Lahore, the Nisat Bagh, the Shalimar Bagh the Achdal Bag, a Garden at Udaipur, the Garden attached the bomb of Itimadudaullah of Agra, and the Wah Bagh at Hasan Abdal.[2] The above facts assirt that he was especially interested in horticulture and was particularly keen on acquiring knowledge and collecting information about trees, plants, fruits and flowers.

Referring a village, named Hasilpur, he says, "It has many vims and mango trees without number. It has streams flowing on all sides of it.... In brief, there are few villages so pleasant. For three days more, I halted in this village."[3] Further referring the garden of flowers in Kashmir, he remarks: "As far as the eye could reach there were green meadows interspersed with the thalkawal and other flowers in bloom. It was a very beautiful sight."[4] He was very much impressed with the flowers of Kashmir as he remarks, "the flower of Kashmir are beyond counting and calculation, which shall I write of? And how many can I describe?[5] He punished a servant cutting his both thumb,

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1. The Cambridge History of India, IV, pp. 548-49.
2. See vide J.R.S.A., January, 1936, p. 238.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.) I, p. 362.
4. Ibid, II, p. 124.
5. Ibid, p. 134, for his interest in flower, see II, pp. 144-145.

because he had cut down some champa trees.[1] Jahangir's love for gardening can be seen everywhere in his memoirs, which he inherited from his great grand father Babar, who got built a 'takht' of stone in a garden of Kabul, on which he took his cups of wine.[2] He changed name of the garden 'Shahrara', into 'Jahanara Garden'. He also named two trees of this garden as'Farah Bakhsh' (joy-giver) and 'Saya Bakhsh' (shadows giver).[3]

Pairing of Animals and Birds

Jahangir loved the animals and birds and was well acquainted about their nature. He had named a pair of saras - 'Laila and Majnu' and was very eager to see their pairing. As he had never seen the pairing of a saras, he made such arrangement for them so that they might pair. When they paired, one of his attendants informed him and he came to see. He remarks, "The female having straightened its legs bent down a little, the male then lifted up one of its feet from the ground and placed it on her back and afterwards the second foot, and immediately seating himself on her back, paired with her. He then came down, and, streching out his neck, put his beak to the ground, and walked once gound the funale."[4]

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 432.
2. Ibid, pp. 108-109.
3. Ibid, pp. 106-7.
4. Ibid, II, pp. 16-17.

He has also mentioned the pairing of cheetas and tigers in his memoirs. He says that "it is an established fact that cheetas in unaccustomed places do not pair off with a female" and presents his father as example. Akbar once collected together 1000 cheetas and was desirous that they should pair, but this in no way came off." He had many times coupled male and female cheetas together in gardens, but there, too, it did not come off. But during Jahangir's reign, in eight year a male cheeta, having stipped its colour, went to a female and paired with it and after two and half months three young ones were born and grew up.[1] The above facts show Jahangir's keen interest in natural life of birds and animals. He always tried to know about their natural habit. He records birth of a elephant, who was born in his presence. He had ordered his servants to ascertain the period of the gestation; one it was eighteen months and a male nineteen month.[2] Further he records that "In opposition to the birth of a human being, which is in most cases by a head delivery, young elephants are born with their feet first." He also gives description about the young elephant, which took place before him. He say that when the young one was born, the mother scattered dust upon it with her foot, and began "to be kind and pet it." The young one for an instance remained fallen, and then rising, made towards it mother's breasts.[3] We learn from Jahangir also that during his reign wild beasts had abandoned their savagery, tigers had become so much tame that troops of them without chains or restraint went about

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.) I, p. 240.
2. Ibid, p. 265.
3. Ibid, p. 265.

amongst the people, and they neither harmed men nor had any wildness or alarm.[1] It happened that a tigress became pregnant and after three months bore three cubs. It was a strange event because "it had never happened that a wild tiger after its capture had paired."[2]

He took so much interest in birds and animals that he recorded the birds and animals of Kashmir and also them who were were not found in the region.[3] His loves for animals and birds can be seen in the data given by Hawkins,[4] whom to were under the possession of Jahangir -

Beasts and Birds	Numbers
1. Horses	12,000
2. Elephants	12,000
3. Camels	2,000
4. Oxen	10,000
5. Mules	1,000
6. Deer and Buck	3,000
7. Ceetas	4,000
8. Hunting Dogs	4,000
9. Tame Lions	100
10. Bufalloes	500
11. Hawks	4,000
12. Pigeons	10,000
13. Singing Birds	4,000

Emperor on March

Jahangir informs us that he followed the Hindu customs described by Hindu astrologers for his march in any important

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.) I, p. 240.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid, II, pp. 168-170.
4. Hawkins, p. 105.

expedition. "It is the custom of the people of India," writes Jahangir, "that if the movement of king or great men for the consquent of a country towards the east they should ride a tusked elephant; and if the movement is towards the west on a horse of one colour; if the movements is it towards the worth in a palanquin or a litter (syhason), and if towards the south, that is in the direction of the Deccan, on a rath, which is a kind of card (araba) or bahal (two wheeled car)." While Jahangir started for the Deccan from Ajmer he mounted the "Frank carriage, which had four horses attached to it" and many Amirs accompanied him in carriage.[1] Thomas Roe has described fully all the ceremonies at the time of the departure of Jahangir from Ajmer to his camp, two miles outside the city. Jahangir descended the stair there was "an acclaimation of health". Badshah Salamat", so loud as "would have out-cried canons." At the foot of the stairs one man brought a mighty carp" and another a dish of stuff like starch in which the king dipped his fingers, touched the fish and then robbed it on his forehead.[2] The third man tied his sword and his buckler, which was set with great diamonds and rubbies. The Emperor was also wearing a belt of gold. The fourth man hung his quiver (30 arrows) and the bow in a case.[3]

After his public arming he centered his English coach which was attended by his English servants. It was driven by four hourses, which were "trapped and harnessed in gold velvets." On

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 340.
2. This was card and fish, which is still used as a charm or for good luck whenever someone departs.
3. Roe, p. 232.

each side of it walked two eunuchs, "with small maces of gold set all over with rubies with a long bunch of white horse-tail to drive away flies." In front of the coach walked drummers, trumpeters, conopy or quitees sol" bearers etc. With them were also carried the ensigns of the Emperor, made of gold set in many places with rubies, some spare horses and other kind of furniture set with rubies and emeralds. Besides the Emperor, came three palkis. One of them was plated with gold, set at ends with precious stones. It was covered with crimson velvet embroidered with pearls. From it hung "a gregg" of great pearls "in ropes a foot-deep." Its boarders were set with rubies and emeralds. Besides it walked a footman carrying a foot high golden stool, which was also set with precious stones. The other Palkies were only covered with cloth of gold.

After the Palki came another coach, covered with cloth gold. In it sat Nur Mahal. It was followed by a third coach, a country made copy of the first. It contained two of his sons. Net came twenty royal elephants, with furniture of gold, set with precious stones, carrying many flags or 'silver gilt; sattern and taffatis." Behind these elephants walked the nobles. A mile behind this cavalcade, the ladies of the harem rode-on elephants.

The Emperor passed all the way through the guard of elephants, "having everyone a turret: on the four corners four banners of yellow taffaty, right, before, a sling, mounted, that carried a bullet as big as a great tennis ball; the gunner behind

it, in number about three hundred."[1] While the other elephants of honour in number. They were covered with velvets and cloth of gold. They also carried two or three gilded banners. On the way ran waterman with skins of water, watering the ground continuously before him.[2]

1. Roe, pp. 321-24.
2. Ibid, p. 325.

Chapter 7

SOCIETY AND CULTURE

The Hindus and Muslim came nearer together and learnt to appreciate each others good points in the conganial atmosphere established by the wise and liberal administration of Akbar. His policy to make the court an emblem of all that was best in Hinduism and Islam gave birth to the national literature, architecture, music and painting which became the common heritage of all the people living in the country. The two communities also influenced each other in the field of ideas, in the celebration of fairs and festivals, in the ceremonial of marriage and in the manner of the court. These systems remained popular during the reign of Jahangir.

The Hindus

Jahangir writes in his memoirs that there were four divisions among the Hindus, and each of these acted according to their own rules and ways. In every year they kept a fixed day.

Brahmins was the first caste who knew the Imcomparable God. The duties were of six kinds - "(1) to acquire religious knowledge, (2) to give instructions to others, (3) to worship fire, (4) to lead to men to worship of fmi fire, (5) giving something to the needy, (6) taking gifts." The fixed day for them was the last day of the Hindu month of Swan. On this day, which was considered an auspicious day for them, the worshipers went on that day to the banks of rivers and tanks, and recited enchantments, breathed upon cords and coloured threads, on another day, they fastened

them on the hands of the Rajas and great men of the time, booked on them as omens.[1]

Chhatri

The second caste was that of Chhatri. Their duty was the protect the oppressed from the evil of the oppressors. The custom the caste were three thing - "(i) that they study religions science themselves but do not teach others, (ii) that they worship fire, but do not teach others to do so, (iii) that they give to the needy, but although they are needy take nothing themselves." The fixed day of this caste was 'Bijay Dashmi'. They considered this day luckey to mount and go against one's enemy with an army; following Ram Chand, whom they worshipped as their God; who leading his army on that day against his enemy won a victory, and they on this auspicious day, decorated their elephants and horses and performed worship.[2] The third caste was that of Baish (Vaishya). Its custom was "that they serve the other two castes of which mention has been made." They practiced agriculture and buying and selling, and were employed in the business of profit and interest. They had fixed a day which was called the 'Diwali'. On the night of their auspicious day they lighted lamps, and friends and those who were dear assembled in each other's houses and passed their time busily in gambling. As they believed in profit and interest, they considered auspicious to carry over and open new accounts.[3]

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1. Tuzuk (R. and B.), I, p. 244.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid, p. 245.

The fourth caste; sudra, were the lowest caste of the Hindus. They were the servants of all, and derived no profit from those things which were the specialities of every other caste.[1] The above facts given by Jahangir about the caste system of the Hindus were popular in India since ancient periods. But on some points Jahangir is not confirm, as he writes, about festivals of 'Rakshha Bandhan, Durgapuja and Diwali', these festivals are even now popular in India and celebrated by all the castes of Hindu in splendour.

The Ashram-system of the Hindus

Jahangir informs us that the Ashrama system, established by the learned of the Hindus was popular in his times. According to this system, there were four modes of life for the caste of Brahmin, which was the most honoured caste of the Hindus. They had divided their lines into four periods, known as 'ashram'.[2] According to this custom the boy who was born in a Brahmin's house, was not called Brahmin till he attended the age of his seven year and took 'no trouble on the subject'. After he arrived at the age of eight years a meeting was held and Brahmins were collected and they made a cord of 'Munjgross' (called Munji), in "length 2 1/2 gaz," and having caused prayers and incantations to be repeated over it, and having had it made into three strands, it was fasten on his waist by one, in whom they had ~~nt~~ confidence.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 245.
2. See Jarret, Ain, III, p. 271.

Having woven a 'zunnar' (gridh or thread) out of the loose threads, it was hanged it over his right shoulder. He was given a stick of the length of 1 gaz to defend himself from hurtful things and a copper vessel for drinking water, and was handed over to a learned Brahmin that he might remain in his house for twelve years, and employed himself in reading the vedas, to which was considered as a God's book by them. During this period he had to obtain from bodily pleasures. When midday passed he went as beggar to the houses of other Brahmins, and bringing what was given him to his preceptor, and ate it with his permission. For clothing, with exception of a loin cloth (lungi) of cotton to cover his private parts, an 2 or 3 gaz of cotton which he thre over his back. In this state of Brahmacharya, he made himself busy with the Divine books.[1]

Grihast Ashram

After passing this period, with the leave of his precepter and his father, he married, and was allowed to enjoy all the pleasures of his five senses, until the time when attained the age of sixteen years. If he had not a son, he passed his days, till he attained the age of forty eight,[2] in the social life.[3]

Vanprastha Ashram

After Grihast Ashram, separating himself from relatives, connections, strangers and friends and giving up all things of

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 357-58.
2. The Pauranic Sources, says fifty.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 358.

enjoyment and pleasure, he retired to a place of solitude from the place of attachment to sociality (to 'alluq-i-abad-i-kasrat), and passed his days in the jungle. As it was an axim of "the Hindus that no good deed can be thoroughly performed by men in the social state without the partnership of the presence of a wife, whom they have styled the half of a man, and as a portion of the ceremonies and worshipping is yet before him, he takes his wife with him into the jungle." If she was pregnant, she put off his going until she bore a child and the infant arrived at the age of five years. Then he entrusted the child to his eldest son or other relations, and carried out his intention. After this he had no connection with his wife, and did not defile himself with communication with her. He passed twelve years in this state and lived on vegetables which might had sprung up of themselves in the desert and jungles. He had no care of his body and he worshiped fire.[1]

Sanyas Ashram

After completing his 'Banprastha' Ashram, he returned to his house, and having commended his wife to his children and brothers and son-in-laws went to pay his respects to his spiritual guide, and burnt by throwing into the fire in his presence whatever he had in the way of zunar, the hair of his head, etc. and said aid to him, "Whatever attachment (to'allud) I may have had, even to abstinence and worshipping and will, I have rooted up out of my heart." Thus, he closed the road to his heart and to his

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 358-59.

desires and was always employed in templatation of God, knew no except the "True causes of Being (God)". If he spoke science it became the science of Vedanta.[1]

The above mentioned Ashram system is totally based on the Jahangir's interview with a Hindu saint Jadrup. It seems that this ancient system of the Hindus was popular, even in the reign of Jahangir. Referring the saint Jadrum Jahangir writes that, "many years ago retired from the city of Ujaini to a corner of the desert and employed himself in the worship of true God.... In the cold day of winter, though he is quite naked, with the exception of a piece of rag that he has infront and behind, he never lights fire.... He bathes twice a day in piece of water near his abodes."[2] But according to Jahangir's account it seems that only few persons followed this ancient Ashram system of the Hindus as he has described in his memoirs.

Artitecture

The Mughals were the most remarkable buildrs of India. The beautiful buildings they constructed in different parts of the country still stand and serve as an imperishable index to their refined tastes and afford an excellent testimony to their cultural advancement. The style of their architecture so wide and varied was a midling of many influences - combining in itself all that was good in other styles from their point of view.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 359.
2. Ibid, p. 356.

But Jahangir's interest centred mainly round painting and gardening, yet his reign was not without architectural glory.

Akbar's Tomb

Nearly five miles from Agra, a little of the road to Delhi, and lying on the outskirts of a village known as Sikandara, where the tomb is situated. It is a huge structure planned by Akbar himself, but it took many years building and was completed in 1613; eight years after his death. Jahangir did not like some parts of the construction and ordered these to be rebuilt.[1] When in 1609 A.D. (1617 AH),Jahangir went a piligrimage on foot to the enlightened mausoleum of his revered father, "I saw the building that had been erected in the cementry. I did not come up to my idea of what it ought to be, for that would be approved which the way farers of the world should point to as one in like of which was not in the inhabited world."[2] Just at the time of erecting of the said building, Prince Khusru, broke out in revolt. He decided to follow Khusru and directed to the architects to build it after a design of his own. Jahangir says, "I ordered that experienced architects should again lay the foundations, in agreement with man of experience, in several places, on a settled plan."[3] After three or four years, a lofty building was erected, and bright garden was arranged round the building of the shrine,

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 152.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

and a large and lofty gateway with minerates of white stone was built. "On the whole they told me the cost of this lofty edifice was 15 lacs of rupees, equivalent to 50,000 current tumas of Persia and 45 lacs Khanis, according to the currency of Turan."[1] From this passage we reach to the point that Jahangir not only pulled down certain parts of the mausoleum and rebuilt them, but that he also made some changes in the plan itself. The building was made some changes in the plan itself. The building was completed in 1613 A.D.

This mansoleum is not a conventional Muslim tomb, it is quite unlike any other ever built in this country. In design it is like a Buddhist Vihar or monastery. The tomb is of a paramidal form. Furguson was of the opinion that the original design of the upper story must have included a done at the top without which the monument has a truncated and unmeaning aspect. The total height," he writes, "of the building now is a little more than 100 feet to the top of the angle pavillions, and the central dome 30 to 40 feet higher, which is the proportion that the base gives, seems just what is wanted to make this tomb as beautiful in outline and in proportion as it is in detail. Had it been so completed, it certainly would have ranked next to Taj, among Indian mausolium."[2] But Percy Brown feels that the monument, as it is including its upper storey, is complete. "In many respects," he writes. "The unroofed terrace and its

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 152.
2. Furgusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. II, 2nd Edn., p. 309.

refined treatment is on appropriate finish to the building as a whole...."[1]

In the interior arrangements, too Akbar's mansolium differs materially from other Muslim tombs. Generally speaking, Muslim tombs in this country are built on a plan having a crypt meant for the intertainment of the body and above it, a building containing the tomb chamber with its cenotaph. But instead of the subterranean vault this mausolium has a high doomed hall, almost on ground level, which takes the place of crypt and tomb chamber combined. The entrance to the mortury chamber through a portico on the south side and the chamber is reached by a long and sloping corridor. Indeed, this is a very fine proof of development of architecture.

Itimdudaulah's tomb

Though Jahangir does not give any detail about the remarkable building erected at Agra during his reign - the tomb of Itimadaudaulah, father of Nurjahan Begum. This beautiful tomb was built by Nurjahan Begum which was the finest architectural gem of Jahangir's reign.[2] Referring to this tomb, Mr. Percy Brown writes that "there is no other building like it in the entire range of Mughal architecture, the delicacy of treatment and the chaste quality of its decoration placing it in a class by itself.... whether regarded as an archtectural composition of matchless

1. The Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), p. 103.
2. Furgusson, Brun, History of Eastern and Indian Culture, Vol. II, pp. 306-7.

refinement, as an example of applied art displaying rare craftsmanship or as an artistic, symbol of passionate fitial devotion, the tomb of Itimadudaulah expresses in every part of it the high aesthetic ideals that prevailed among the Mughals at the time."[1] The Emperor's tomb at Lahore is also a notable monument of his time, built by Nurjahan Begum.[2]

Besides the above mentioned building Jahangir informs us that when he found a building at Balahisar not fit for him, he ordered to destroy those buildings and prepare a palace and a royal hall of audience. When he received a news of ruinous state of the fort of Jalalabad, from the governor of that region, atonce he issued order for the repair of the said fort and "money to be taken from the treasury of Lahore."[3] Then we see that Jahangir took interest in affairs of buildings when he found a halting place at Nakodar near Sultanpur pleasant and fresh. Akbar had got prepared an embarkment and waterfal near it, he also ordered to prepare a building and a garden on the one side of this embarkment, so that way farers seeing it might be pleased."[4] A lofty building was prepared on Jahangir's order near the hunting place of Rupbas by Khwaja Jahan. Being plased to see this building

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1. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, pp. 552-53.
2. Ibid, p. 551, and Ishwari Prasad, A short history of Muslim rule in India, p. 759, this tomb and the tomb of Nurjahan Begum and Asaf Khan a was damaged by the Sikhs during the Sikh rule.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), pp. 118, 176.
4. Ibid, I, p. 136.

Jahangir rewarded Khawja Jahan.[1] As Abdul-l-Karim had completed the buildings of Mandu through his excellent exertions, he was promoted to the rank of 800 person and 400 horse, with the title of Mamur Khan.[2] A mosque was built in the fort of Kangra on Jahangir's order.[3] The Nursaray, built by Nurjahan Begum was also a lofty building. Thus, we see that though so many buildings and mosques were built during the reign of Jahangir, but it did not establish any glory except of some buildings, and hid among the glorious architects of his father Akbar and son Shahjahan. As Akbar's building activity was so vast varied and it carried a long period. It seems that his son and successor Jahangir found it hard to rival him and made no attempt to emulate his father in this respect, as he was more fond of gardens and painting than of buildings. But his planning, which is seen in the Akbar's tomb is noteworthy. He made some changes in the tomb of his father, which was erected according to his (Akbar) planning. This has been marked a glorious building after the Taj Mahal by the historians and foreign visitors. His love for architecture can be seen, when he rewarded the architectures for their good work.

"painting"

The art of painting was popular among the Mughals since the time of Timur. Jahangir informs us that his ambassador Khan Alam brought pictures from the library of Shah Abbas of Persia.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 191.
2. Ibid, p. 368.
3. Ibid, II, pp. 226-27.

Among them was the picture of "the fight of Sahib Qiran (Timur) with Tuqtamish Khan, and the likenesses of him and his glorious children and the great Amirs who had the good fortune to be with him in that fight, and near each figure it was written whose portrait it was." In this picture there were 240 figures. The painter had written his name as Khalil Mirza Shahrukhi.[1]

Babar took much interest in art of painting. He brought with him all the choicest specimens of painting which he was able to obtain from the library of his ancestors - the Tumirids - who were noted for their love of and proficiency in the art of painting. Those specimens were treasured by the Mughal emperors of India.[2] The Bihazad, the best painter of persia under the Timurids and Chaghtai princes and peers set him before the painters of India as the model to be followed by them in their art. Thus Bihazid and his school became the exemplars of Indian artists and his the elements of persian painting engrafted themselves on Indian art tradition.[3]

We harn from Jahangir that the Abdus-samad was the best painters of Humayun's reign; who received the title of 'Shirin-i-Kalam (sweet pen) from the Emperor.[4] The Mughal school of painting developed during the reign of Akbar. Khwaja Abu-s-Samad, who according to Jahangir was the best painter of his age, "laid the

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 116.
2. Jafar S.M. the Mughal Empire from Babar to Aurangzeb, p.29.
3. A.L. Srivastava, Medieval Indian Culture, p. 234.
4. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 15.

foundation of the Indo Persian or more correctly the Mughal school of pictorial art."[1] Akbar's patronage attracted the best painters to his court, and the Mughal school of painting produced a large number of artists. "His Majesty," writes Abul Fazl, "from his earliest youth has shown a great preditection for this art, and gives it every encouragement, as he looks upto it as a means, both of study and amusement. Hence the art flourishes and many painters have obtained great reputation. The work of all painters are weekly laid before his Majesty by the daroghas and the clerks; he then confers rewards according to excellence of workmanship, or increases the monthly salries."[2] The patronage produced so many painters who were master of this art in various sorts. "The collection of signed pictures," writes Smith, "from the Akbarnama at South Kensington alone would suffice as material for a critical examination of the merits of each of the principal artists of Akbar's reign. But no modern critic has yet attempted the task of accurately discriminating the styles of the various droughtsmen and colourists of the age."[3]

Jahangir

But the art of painting flourished during the reign of Jahangir, who gave a fresh impetus to the Mughal school of painting founded by his father. "As regard myself," writes Jahangir, "my liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived at such a point that when any work is brought before me, either

1. A.L. Srivastava, Medieval Indian Culture, pp. 234-35.
2. Ain (Blochman), I, p. 114.
3. V.A. Smith, Akbar the Great Mughal, pp. 428-29.

of deceased artists or of those of the present day, without the names being told me, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face be the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any other person has put in the eye and eyebrow of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is, and who has painted the eye and eyebrow."[1] Even after making considerable allowance for exaggeration, the fact remains that Jahangir "possessed the skill knowledge of an expert" in art of painting.[2] Jahangir raised the standard of the Mughal school of painting considerably high. His appreciation and encouragement carried the art of Indian painter to nothing short of profection. Abul Hasam was a Khanzada of the court and his father Aga Riza has been in service of Jahangir, while he was prince. Abul Hasan drew the picture of the Emperor's accession "as the frontispice to the Jahangir-nama; and brought it" to Jahangir. "As it was worthy of all praise," writes Jahangir, "he received eldless favours. His work was perfect and his picture is one of the chief d'ocurre' of the age. At present time he has no rival or equal.... from his earliest years upto the present time I have always looked after him till his art has arrived at this rank. Truly he has become 'Nadira-i-Zaman' (the Wonder of the age)."[3] Another 'Ustad Mansur' was such a master in art of painting that the art of drawing was unique in his generation. "In the times of my father's reign and my own reign," writes

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 20-21.
2. Ishwari Prasad, A short history of Muslim Rule in India, pp. 767-68.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.),II, p. 20.

Jahangir, "these two have had no third."[1] He had established a picture gallery containing many valuable paintings in one of his garden of Kashmir by master hands.[2] Among those painting, "the likeness of Humayun and of Akbar opposite to the Emperor himself, and that of "my brother Shah Abbas" were in the honoured positions. After them were the likeness of Mirza Kanram, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Shah Murad and Sultan Danial.[3] On the second storey of the gallery were the likeness of Amirs and special servants. On walls of the outer hall the stages of the road to Kashmir were "recorded in the order in which I had come to them." The date of this hemistich was fixed by a poet - "pictures of kings of Solomon; like glory," which represents A.H. 1029 or A.D. 1620.[4] Under Jahangir, Indian painting reached its high watermark. This was specially due to the Emperor's patronage of the art. He had the painters always with himself. Whenever he saw any strange or his favourite things (either they are bird or beast or anything), he ordered his painters to draw likenesses of those. When he saw a 'piramid' he ordered his painter to "draw a likeness of its,"[5] At the time when Mugarrab Khan produced before him "one by one the things and rareties" he had brought, among those Jahangir saw some strange animals and ordered his painters to draw them.[6] When he saw a low and weak Palaqin, and order to sketch.[7]

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 20.
2. Abul Hasan and Mansur, see, Ibid.
3. Ibid, pp. 161-62.
4. Tuzul (R.and B.) II, p. 162 and fn. 1.
5. Ibid, I, p. 104 Piramid, see in Eriskin's Babar, p. 145.
6. Ibid, p. 215.
7. Ibid, II, p. 41.

The art of painting was so much favourite to Jahangir that he sent his painters to the other countries to take the portraits. Bishan Das, an unequalled in his for taking likenesses, was sent to persia to take the portraits of the Shah and the chief men of his state, for himself. The painter Bishan Das drawn the likenesses of most of them and especially of Shah Abbas and brought for the Emperor.[1] "In his times" says Catrou, "there were found in the Indin native painters who copied the finest of our European pictures with a fidelity that might vie with the originals."[2] Jahangir mentions that the picture gallery in the Agra fort was attached to the royal library and both these institutions were under the charge of Maktub Khan, who was superintendent of the library and the picture-gallery.[3] Dr. Moti Chand in his thesis entitled "The Technique of Mughal Painting," the method perspective, shading and landscape in Mughal, art. The painters at Agra and Fatehpur Sikari used Indian and foreign as also parchment. Art paper of a very high quality was manufactured in this country from Santal, linen, and gross. It was also imported from Persia and was known as Irani and Asfahani. Painting on canvas was also known and practised, though not on such a large scale as that on paper. During the reign of Jahangir blending of colour was the common practice.[4]

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 116-17.
2. Catron, the Mughal Empire from Babar to Aurangzeb, p. 216.
3. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 12.
4. A.L. Srivastava, Medieval Indian Culture, pp. 239-40.

Gurreiro who wrote in 1609 speaks of the figural paintings with which Jahangir adorned his palaces at Agra, "...on coming from Lahore, he found his palaces of Agra well decorated and painted over with sundry pictures which had already been made, and other which were being executed, inside as well as outside in a verandah where becomes to sit daily to be seen by the people. Nearly all these paintings bore on sacred subjects, for on the ceiling and in the middle of it was painted an image of christ our Lord, very artistically done, with a halo and a circle of Angles, and on the wall there were some saints in miniature, at St.John the Baktist, St. Anthony, St. Bernardine, and others, as also come women saints... on each side of the widow (Jharokha) there are three of them and above them, on the right, is painted christ our Lord, holding the orb in his hand; to the left, the virgin our Lady, copied in life size from the painting of Saint Luke.... And, as the window where the king sits is made in the form of a niche, and painted all over, he had his two sons painted very richly in full length, on the same wall. Above one of his sons is a miniature figure of christ our Lord, and a Father of the society with a book in his hand; above the other is seen the virgin of our Lady.... This is a painful eyesore to the Moors."[1]

Jahangir was great connoisseur of painting and employed artists separately for each branch. One set specialised in the

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1. Earnest Kuhnel and Harmann Goetz, Indian Book Painting (London, 1926), pp. 63-64, reference may also be made to F. Martin, Miniature painting and painters in Persia, India and Turkey, Vol. II, 1912, and C. Stanley Clarke, Indian Paintings: Thirty Mughal paintings of the School of Jahangir in the Wantage Bequest London, 1922.

depiction of birds and animals. Some matter pieces of Ustad Mansur have come down to us representating falcons or fowl, more truly and more aesthetically than a photographer can do.[1]

More significant, and of greater interest, from this point of view is the picture wall of the Fort of Lahore. Animals fight, hunting and polo scenes from the subjects of those pictures which were executed in brilliant polychrome glazed tiling during the reign of Jahangir.[2] Flora and conventionalized patterns have been suitably disposed along with these panels which depict living forms on such a large scale. It is a great masterpiece of art and one-stands simply amazed to see the wonderful accomplishment of the Mughal artisans. The glazed tiling had only lately, been introduced and it is really creditable that the Mughal artisan mastered the art with such intimacy and lucidity as to be able to depict the typically Indian forms and features without any inherent weakness. It is noteworthy that no other Islamic monument in India contains animate figures in glazed tiles.

Pairs of elephants are also depicted, though with certain reservations, at the Kanch Mahal, a palatial mansion near Akbar's tomb at Sikandara, which was built during the reign of Jahangir. The tomb of Itimadudaulah, build between 1622 to 1627 A.D., is proof of developed painting. Cups and wine-vases, so characteristics

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1. An unfinished miniature by ascribed to Ustad Mansur shows three hamsas with firm outline and lively posture. J.Ph. Vogel, The Goose of Indian Literature and Art., Op.cit., p.73, Plate No. XII(C).
2. R. Nath, History Decorative Art in the Mughal Architecture, p. 123, Plate No. CXVII.

of the age of Jahangir, are profusely depicted in inlaid marbale. Their handles are serpentine with a bird's beak.[1] The interior decoration mainly consists of painted floral and conventionalized designs. The artist used animal molisfs mostly inside the Jar-shaped guldastas. Peacocks are frequently depicted, in one case, adancing peacock is attended by his hens on both sides.[2] Fish are also employed to form guldastas.[3] Curriously, a number of rats and dogs are depicted in guldastas in the north-west corner chamber.[4] Lions are depicted in a number of cases in Central Mortuary hall.[5]

The human figures are also depicted in the scheme of painted panels. Of a number of jar shaped Guldastas each contains a kiosk (chattri) and a human figure, in siting posture, is very dexterously painted inside it.[6] The depiction of animate motifs in this tomb on such a large scale, almost without any restraint, is indicative of the single fact that it belongs, heart and soul, to the age which is marked for the zenith of painting in medieval times. The miniature and portrait paintings of Jahangir had their impact on the mural decoration of this tomb so much so that the later seems almost to be a translation of the former into plaster. The large scale use of chinese cloud forms in landscapes on these panels amply confirms the view. Some plants of this scheme appear to be copies from the masterpieces of Ustad Mansur. A few stories

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1. R. Nath, History of Decorative Art in Mughal, Architecture, p. 123, Plate No.CXVIII.
2. Ibid, Plate No. XXIX.
3. Ibid, Plate No. XXX.
4. Ibid, Plate No. XXXI.
5. Ibid, Plate No. XXXII.
6. Ibid, Plate No. XXXIII EB XXXIV.

the panchtantra, the manuscripts of which were painted during Akbar's reign, also seem to have been represented. Clearly the architecture of the phase derived great inspiration from the contemporary art of painting. The monument itself was to look like a beautiful picture, rather than a massive tomb.[1]

Thus, we see that during Jahangir's reign the Mughal painter excelled in portrait painting because the Emperor was very much interested of it. Portraits of the Amirs and Maliks of the court as well as picture of court scenes formed the bulk of his commissions. The amalgamation of persian and Indian artistic traditions that had been going on since the advent of Babar, became complete during the reign of Jahangir. Jahangir's patron for the art of painting was so much that the painting of his reign have been and will continue to be a great source of inspiration to the painters. When Sir Thomas Roe presented a picture to Jahangir, the chief painter of the court who was sent for to see it said that he could paint like it. After sometimes Jahangir showed Roe six pictures, five of which were painted by the painter. They were so very similar that by candle light one could not be distinguished from the other. It was only after a close and minute scrutiny that Roe could make out the picture presented by himself. The ambassador said that he did not except that the painter could perform so well.[2]

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1. R. Nath, Op.cit., p. 124, Plate No. XXXV.
2. Thomas Roe, Purchas His Pilgrims, Vol. IV, pp. 344 ff.

Education

The culture and civilisation of the people depend upon the system of education imparted to their offsprings. The Mughals were developed in the field of education. The memoirs, of Babar entitled 'Tuzuk-i-Babari' or Babarnama, presents him as a fine scholar and a lover of literature and art. Humayun was also a first rate scholar and though not possessed of that kind of fastidious taste as his father Babar had, he too encouraged his scholarship. Jahangir was presented a compedium in the handwriting of Humayun, containing some prayers, an introduction to the science of ostronomy, and other marvellous things which he had studied and carried into practice.[1]

During Akbar's reign a pattern of education was introduced. He laid down that every student ought to read books on morals, arithmetic, the notation peculiar to arithmetic, agriculture; mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiogonomy, household matters, the rules of the government, medicine, logic, the tabii (physical sciences), riyazi (science that treats of quality) and Ilahi (Theology), science and history; all of which may be gradually acquired. He directed that the schools meant for Sanskrit learning, Vyakarana, Nyaya, Vedant and the commentary of Patanjali should be taught. A regulation was laid down that "No one should be allowed to neglect those subjects which the present time required."[2] Thus, this regulation brought a unique change in society. The Hindu

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 82.
2. Ain (Blochman), I, p. 289.

students began to be admitted into the Muslim Maktabs and Madrashs and the result was that within a half century there was a large number of Hindu scholars, historians and poets of Persian, and some of these excelled in rational sciences. This system of education continued to flourish under Jahangir. Jahangir had made a rule that if a noble died without heir his property should be utilised for the maintenance of madrasahs.[1]

Though Jahangir does not give the system of education; but his accounts in his memoirs presents that education was developed during his reign. Jahangir himself was a learned man. He had full command over Persian and Turki language. His memoirs is good piece of literature. About Turki he informs us in his memoirs, "In connection with the account of Kabul," writes Jahangir, "the commentaries of Babar passed in view before me. These were in his own hand writing, except four sections (juz)[2] that I wrote myself. At the end of the said sections a sentence was written by me also in Turki character, so that it might be known that these four sections were written by me in my own hand. Notwithstanding that I grew up in Hindustan, I am not ignorant of Turki speech and writing."[3] An European traveller Hawkins talked with him in Turki and Jahangir was so much impressed with his talk that he appointed him to the court.[4] We learn from the text that he was fairly convesant with history and geography.[5] So many historical details have been recorded

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 8, Regulation No. 4.
2. Ibid, p. 109, fn.3, A juz is said to consist of eight leaves or sixteen pages. Thus Jahangir wrote sixty four pages.
3. Ibid, pp. 109-10 (E.and D.,VI, p. 315, says, only complete the work.
4. William Foster, Forty Travels in India, pp.
5. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, pp. 20, 21 fn. 57.

by him in his memoirs before his reign, such as about Timur, Chenghiz Khan, etc. the ashram system of the Hindus, and the details of so many predecessors have been recorded. His interest in geography can be seen on so many places in his memoirs. He has recorded the geography of so many cities, such as Kashmir, Ahmadabad etc. The geography of Agra has been discussed by Jahangir as a good scholar of Geography.

Jahngir was too much interested in Zoology. His interest in animals and birds are noteworthy. He has recorded in his memoirs the 'pairing of cheetahs'. He has remarked in "It is an established fact that cheetahs in unaccustomed places do not pair off with a female,.... At this time a male cheetah, having slipped it colour, went to a female and paired with it, and after two and a half months three young ones were born and grew up."[1] He also records about pregnancy of tigress, who have birth to three cubs, after three months; "it had never been happened that a wild tiger after its capture had paired." He made every effort that moisture of milk should appear in her breasts, but he could not accomplish it. In connection of this fact he invested that it was a raginiq creature, and "milk appears in the breast of mothers by affection. They have for their young, as milk comes into their breasts in connection with their young owns drinking and sucking at the time of their taking (the milk), their "rage increase and the milk in their breasts is dried up." "It was heard from philosophers that

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 240.

the milk of tigress was of great use for brightening eyes."[1] Jahangir was much interested in Zoology, can be seen in his description about the conditions of the animals and birds. His interest in natural beauty can be seen everywhere in his memoirs on the basis of his descriptions about fruit, plant, and trees, we reach to the point that he was a good scholar of Botany.[2] We are agree with the opinion of Dr. Beni Prasad, that his diary, "written in later life, shows him fairly conversant with history and geography. He is fond of biographical detail. His interest in botany and zoology would have done credit to any professional scientist. No reader of his diary can fail to be struck by his passion for investigation, his accuracy of observation, his love of experiment, and his quest of miscellaneous knowledge. His literary and scientific tastes naturally produced a liking for cultured society which lasted to the close of his life."[3] There lived so many great scholar in his court. The translation of Quran into simple Persian language was done during his reign. He rewarded the scholars and encouraged them. He was promptly recorded in his memoirs that, "On Friday eve, I associate with learned and pions men and dervishes and recluces.[4] Jahangir personally was a good scholar. He occasionally verified his prayers to God. "As I have poetical disposition,"

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 240.
2. For his interest in Zoology, see Ibid, I, 83,97,98,363,360 361,362,363,387,412,413; II, p. 134. For his interest in Botany, pp. 83,84,140,141,142,143,155,248,272,322,343,387, 410,436,437,444, Vol. II, 7,16,19,23,24-25; 32,46,88,89, 130,201,219,220,221,226.
3. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, p. 20.
4. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 21.

writes Jahangir, "I sometimes intentionally, sometimes unvoluntarily, compose couplets and quatrains."[1] He talked egerly on poetry and arranged parties where every guest had to compose ode.[2] His poetic disposition can be seen in his memoirs recorded by him.[3] He was interested in Hindi verses "Few Hindi verses of such freshness and purport have ever reached my year. As a reward for this eulogy I gave him an elephant."[4] 'Shanqi' the madlin prayer, is the wonder of the age. He also sings Hindi and Persian songs in a manner that clears the rust from all hearts. I delighted him the title, Anand Khan in the Hindi language means "pleasure and ese."[5] Another Hindi poet Buta (Brikhray), was a favourite with Jahangir.[6]

The education was well-developed during the reign of Jahangir. It is recorded in Tarikh-i-Jah Jahan that after his accession to the throne Jahangir repaired even those Madrasahs that had for thirty years been the dwelling of birds and beasts, and filled them with students and professors.[7] Agra which rose high as a centre of education during Akbar's reign, continued in the same state during Jahangir's reign. Jahangir writes about Agra - "the inhabitants of Agra exert themselves greatly in the acquirement of crafts

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.),I, pp. 228, 322.
2. Ibid, II, pp. 15,29.
3. Ibid, pp. 18,51,53,57,61,65,99,150,158,159,203, Vol. 36,37, 144,176,183.
4. Ibid, I, p. 141.
5. Ibid, I, p. 428.
6. Misrabandhu Vinod, Vol. I, p. 422.
7. Ali Muhammad Khan, Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Vol. I, p. 209. In 1623 A.D. Muhammad Safi, Diwan of the Subah of Gujarat founded Madrasahs at Jabblapur.

and the search after learning. Various professors of the every religion and creed have taken up his abode in the city."[1] During Jahangir's reign Muktub Khan was a superintendent of the Royal Library and picture Gallery.[2] When Jahangir went to Gujarat, he took a library with him, which shows his love of books which was so marked a trait in his father's character was inherited by him. To the Shaikhs of Gujarat, he presented from this library such books as the 'Tafsir-i-Husaini'; the 'Tafsi-i-Kshaf'and 'the Rauzatul Ahbab' and on the back of each of the books, he wrote the day of his arrival in Gujarat and the date of presentation.[3] Among the learned men of his court Mirza Ghazi Beg was unrivalled in elegant composition and arithmetic.[4] Naqib Khan was noted for his knowledge of history - a subject on which he wrote much Mutamad Khan and Ni'matullah were Jahangir's histographers. Abdul Haq Dihlavi, one of the most learned men of the time came to wait upon Jahangir and presented him with a book, upon the lives of the Shaikhs of India.[5] The Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri gives us a list of some learned men and poets contemporary with the sovereign - Mulla Ruzbahan Shirazi; Mulla Shukarullah Shirazi; Mulla Tuqyai Shustani; Mir Abul Gasim Gilani; A 'mi A'Mari; Mulla Baqar Kashmiri; Mulla Baqar Tuhta; Mulla Maqsud Ali; Qazi Nurullah; Mulla Fazil Kabuli;

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B), I, p. 7.
2. Ibid, p. 12.
3. Ibid, pp. 439, 440.
4. Prince's Memoirs, p. 26.
5. Wakiat-i-Jahangiri (E.and D.), VI, p. 366.

Mulla Abdul Hakim Siyalkuti; Mulla Abdul Muttalib Sultanpuri; Mulla Abdul Rahman Bhurah Gujrati; Mulla Husain Gujrati; Khwaja Usman Hisari; Mulla Muhammad Jaunpuri were the learned men.[1] Of the poet the work mentions - Baba Talib Ispahani; Mulla Hayati Gilani; Mulla Naziri Nishapuri; Mulla Muhammad Safi Mazandrani; Malik-ul-Shu' ara Talibai Amli; Sa'idai Gilani, Mir Ma'Sum kashi; Easwni Kashi; Mulla Haiqar Kasali and Sha'ida.[2]

About Jahangir's love for books and scholars 'Mr. Martin' says - "collectors (of books) complain of the exorbitant prices they are called upon to pay for persian manuscripts and yet the highest prices now paid are small in comparison with the sums they cost their former owners. The manuscript for which Jahangir paid 3,000 gold rupees - a sum equivalent to £ 10,000 - would not fetch £ 2,000 at a sale in Paris today. From notes and calculations I have made, miniatures by Bihzad (the famous persian painter) were worth hundreds of pounds each, and certain of his manuscripts were then worth ten times more than now. Some decades ago, when bibliophiles still existed in the East, for higher prices were paid there in London or Paris today. Though the following centuries, the same love for old books prevailed, and ridicious prices were paid for them as high in proportion as Americans now pay for Rembrandts and Van Dycks. The Mangols, the Tumirides, the Mughals. Emperors and Amirs, all paid prices with we hardly understand, and it was not unusual for a celebrated manuscript of the Quran to realize

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1. Iqbalnama (Bibl. Indica), p. 308.
2. Ibid.

a sum that would be equivalent to about a million frances in modern currency.[1]

Thus, we see that the education, rose to its high standard during Akbar's reign, flourished under Jahangir. Like his ancestors Jahangir gave patronage to education. His interest in education can be seen in his accounts. While he was in Kabul, writes Jahangir, "At nights I ordered the learned and the students of Kabul to hold the cooking entertainment, bughra, and the throwing of bughra, together with arghustak dances."[2] When Mir Arzu-I-Dawlak prepared a vocabulary of words and presented it to the emperor. He was amply rewarded. As regards the work Jahangir wrote "In truth he has taken such pains, and collected together all the words from the writings of ancient poets. There is no book like this in the science.[3]

Trade

Internal and External - though we find a little account of trade in the text but the trade was developed during the reign of Jahangir. Even the foreign merchants (traders) came to India to sell their goods. Jahangir records in his memoirs the port Goa. In this connection he says that "I had ordered him, on account of certain business, to go to the port of Goa and buy for the private

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1. Martin's Miniature painting and painters of Persia, India and Turkey, Vol. I, p. 58.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 107.
3. Ibid, II, p. 257.

use of the government certain rareties procurable there. ...remaining there for sometimes took at the price the Franks asked for them the rareties he met with at that port, without looking at the face of the money at all (i.e. regardless of cost). When he returned from the aforesaid port to the Court; he produced before me one by one the things and rareties he had brought."[1] Further he informs us about other the ports of Dabul, Surat and Baroch.[2] Thus, we see that Goa was an important port where foreign traders came to sell their goods.

Cambay

It was one of the old and largest port of India and was near a firth, which was one of the firths of the sea of Oman. It had been estimated to be seven kos in width, and was nearly forty kos in length. Ships could not come inside the firth, but must casted anchor in the port of Goga, which was a dependency of Cambay and situated near the sea. The traders putting their cargoes into ghurabs and put it in the ships. Ghurabs from European ports had come to Cambay to buy and sell.[3] The use of Arab horses and Dogs certify the trade with the foreign countries. We learn from the accounts of the European travellers that they came India to sell indigo. So many Portuguse and European travellers came India to sell or buy the goods. Even the fruits were imported from the foreign countries.[4]

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 215;
2. Ibid, I, p. 441.
3. Ibid, I, p. 416.
4. Ibid, I, p. 350.

Mines

Jahangir records in his memoirs about the mines of gold and Diamond. There was gold mine in the hill country of Kumaon. Writing about the Raja of Kumaon Jahangir records that "Amongst the Rajas of this hill country this Raja is well known for the large quantity of gold he has. They say there is gold-mine in his territory."[1] There was a diamond mines, in the province of Khokhara, which was dependency of the subah of Bihar and Patna. There was a river from which they procured diamonds. At the season when there was little water, there were pools and waterholes, and it had become known by experience to those who were employed in this work that above every water-hole in which there were diamonds. There was crowds of flying animals (Jhinga? in Indian language) of the nature. Keeping the bed of the stream in sight as far as it was accessible, they made a collection of stones round the water holes. Afterward they made empty the water-holes with spades and shovels to the extent of "a yard or 1 1/2 yard and dig up the area." They found among the stones and sandy large and small diamonds and brought them out. In this connection Jahangir says that, they occasionally "find a piece of diamond worth 100,000 rupees."[2] Further Jahangir informs us that Panzu, a zamindar of Khandesh had made an offering of the mine, and a royal superintendent had been appointed to manage it. The diamonds of that place were superior in kind and beauty to all other kinds of diamonds, and much esteemed by jewellers. They were of good shape, and larger, and superior.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 218.
2. Ibid, p. 345; An elephant was brought from Abbyssinia by ship, Ibid, I, p. 323, and the wool was imported from Tibet, and animals from Afghanistan, see Ibids, I, p. 323, II, p. 151.

Of the second rank was the diamond mine of Khokhara, which was on the boarders of Bihar.[1] The third place was in the province of Karnatak (Carnatic) near the frontier of Qutbu-l-Mulk. Within a space of fifty kos there were four diamond mines and many very fine diamonds were obtained.[2] Thus, we see that the dominion of Jahangir was rich of gold and diamonds mines, which shows the prosperity of the time.

Conditions of the Mass

"Kashmir"

At the time of Jahangir's small area, but it had pleasant reign, Kashmir had natural sight[3] with beautiful gardens of fruits, flowers and other plants. About Kashmir Jahangir has written that "As the area of Kashmir is not such that it produce may suffice for the expenses of the force that is always on service." When a royal army was sent to Kashmir, the price of grains and vegetables had risen very high which presented a problem before the public of that region. For their comfort, the officers were directed to arrange their retinues and to take with them only those who were indispensable, and to send the remainder to their jagirs they were directed to reduce the number of their beasts and follwers, also.[4]

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 22, see also Blochman, p. 480n. and Elliot and Downson, vi, p. 344.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 22.
3. Ibid, p. 119, 143, 44, 45, 46 "If one were to take to praise Kashmir, whole books will be written."
4. Ibid, p. 117, see also Relsaert for its poverty and dearness, p. 36.

Kashmir belonged to the fourth climate. Its latitude was 35°N and its longitude, from the White Islands, 105°. In ancient times it was under possession of Rajas, which lasted for four thousand years. In Hizri year 712 (1312-13 A.D.), Kashmir was illuminated by the religion of Islam and thirty two Muhammadan princes reigned over it for 282 years till it was conquered by Akbar in 1586 A.D. Since then it was under possession of the Mughals. Its length and breadth were 56 kos and not more than 27 less than kos respectively,[1] having thirty eight pargana.[2] The region was divided into two provinces, the territory of upper part of the river called "Marraj; and that on the lower Kamraj." The whole revenue of this region was "30,63,050 kharwars and 11 tasks," which in cash represented 7,46,70,000 doms, which could maintain 8,500 horse ordinarily. The people did not use gold and silver for payment of the revenue from land or in commerce, except for a portion of cesses."[3] They reckoned the value of things in Kharwars of rice.

Though every kind of crops were found except peas, but rice was the principal crop. There were three parts under rice and one under all other grains. The chief food of the Kashmiri people was rice (batha). They boiled the rice fresh and allowed

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1. Abul Fazl says, Length 120 kos and breadth 10 to 25 kos.
2. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, p. 141.
3. Ibid, II, p. 143, "Each Karwar being three monds and eight seers of the current weight." They reckoned two seers as one mond, and four maunds, or eight seers, make one tark.

it to get cold, and then ate it. They did not take warm food. The people of small means "keep a portion of the batha for a night, and eat it next day." According to Jahangir the people of Kashmir ate rice and vegetables. The vegetables was boiled in water and a little salt was mixed in order to alter the flavour. To make the vegetables tasty a little walnut oil was put into the vegetables. They also ate fresh butter, throwing into the food. This kind of food was "Sada Pak" in the Kashmiri language. They did not eat bread.[1]

Cultivation

Fruits, rice and safron were produced much in Kashmir.[2] Mr. Pelsaert writes that saffron was exported to Agra. It was of two variety, the superior quality which was grown near Castuwary[3] ten kos away, sold at the rate of 28 to 32 rupees per seer in the capital of Mughals and the inferior quality, which was produced near Srinagar could be fetched for 20 to 24 rupees per seer.[4] About Kishtawar, which was in the neighbourhood of Kashmir, writes Jahangir: "In Kishtawar there are produced much wheat, barley, lentils rice. Its safron is finer than that of Kashmir.... Its melons are of the same kind of as those of Kashmir."[5]

Animals

In Kashmir, there were not bufallows and the cattle were "small and inferior." The tailless sheep, resembled the "Kaddi"

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 146-47.
2. Ibid, II, pp. 138-139.
3. Possibly Kishtawar.
4. Relsaert Francisco, pp. 34-35.
5. Tuzuk (R.and B.), pp. 138-39 for fruits see Ibid, pp. 145-47.

of India, were called 'handu'. Fowls, geese, and ducks - golden and others were plentiful. All kind of fish were found in Kashmir. Before the Akbar's rule the people these parts rode on gunts (ponies). They had no large horses, but they brought 'Iraq and Turkey' horses by way of gifts for their ruler. But after advent of the Mughals in Kashmir, the Imperial officers were given the herds of 'Iraqi and Turkey' horses to breed from "Kihkurrabagirand." In a short time horses were obtainable and Jahangir writes - "Many Kashmiri horses were brought and sold for 200 and Rs. 300 and even for Rs.1000."[1] Thus, we see that being excellent natural sight, the animal were not of good qualities.

Cloth

As the atmosphere of Kashmir was cold, the people wore woolen cloths. The woolen tunic which was called 'pattu' was popular. "If they do not put on a tunic" writes K Jahangir, "they believe that the air affects them, and even it is impossible to digest their food without it."[2] The shawl of Kashmir was of very fine quality. Another kind was tahrama; which was thicker than a shawl, and soft. Another was called darma, which was like a Jul-i-Khirsak and was put over carpets. With the exception of shawl they made other woolen materials better in Tibet. Though they ~~made other wool~~ brought the wool for the shawls from Tibet. They did not make them there. They wove the pattu shawl from wool, and sewing two shawls together and smoothed them into a kind of saqarlat (bread cloth), which was not bad for a rain coat. The men shaved their head and put on a round turban. The women did not

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 147, 148, 149.
2. Ibid, p. 147.

wear clean;washed clothes. They used a tunic of pattu for three or four years; which was brought unwashed from the house of the weaver, and it did not reach the water till "it falls to pieces."[1] It was considered wrong to wear drawers; they wore the tunic long and ample as far as the head and falling down to the feet, and they also wore a belt. They did not take their bath. "In short, they are as dirty outside as inside without any cleanliness."[2]

Residence

Referring the houses of the people of the Pargana Palki, Jahangir say that "their houses are of wood, and are built after the Kashmiri fashion." The fact presents that the houses of the people of Kashmir were made of wood.[3]

Music

In regards the music Jahangir says that in the time of Mirza Haidar there were many people skilled music and their hutes, dulcimers, harps, drums and flutes were celebrated. Before Mirza Haider's time they had a musical instrument like lute, and used to sing in the Kashmiri language compositions according to Hindi musical modes, there being two or three modes combined together in chorus. Jahangir promptly says that "Kashmir is much indebted to Mirza Haider for its excellencies.[4] This fact clearly tells the

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 147, 148.
2. Ibid, p. 148.
3. Ibid, p. 127.
4. Ibid, p. 148.

story of contemporary music which was of super quality and had been popular since the time of the said Mirza.

Mass of the City

The merchants and artificers of the region were mostly sunnis and the soldiers were Imamiya Shias. There were also a sect of 'Nur-bakhshis'.[1] The body of faqirs was called Rishis. Jahangir informs that though they had not religious knowledge or learning of any sort, yet they possessed simplicity, and were without pretence. They abused no one and restrained the tongue of desire, and foot of seeking, they ate no flesh, they had no wives and always planted fruit bearing trees in the fields, so that men might benefit by them, themselves deriving no advantage. There were about 2,000 of these people. The Brahmins, were living from old taked in the Kashmiri language and it was difficult to distinguish them from Musalmans. They had, however, books in the Sanskrit language, and read them. They carried into practice whatever related to the worship of idols. The Indian scholars composed the books in Sanskrit language and esteemed them greatly. The temples of the Hindus, which were built before the manifestation of Islam were still in existence, and were built of stones. Referring the idol temples Jahangir informs us that "The lofty idol temples which were built before the manifestation of Islam are still in existence, and are all built of stones, which from foundation of roof are large, and weigh 30 or 40 maunds placed one on

1. Tuzuk, R.and B.), II, p. 149; Jarret, II, p. 352 and n.1, also T.Rashidi, translation. But perhaps all that is meant is the followers of the national saint Shaikh. Nuru-d-din. See Lawrence, p. 287.

the other."[1] The fact by Jahangir clears that there was no entrangement between the Hindus and the Muslims and each regarded an other's religion.

The Fort of Kashmir

There was a small hill near the city, called 'Kuh-i-Maran'.[2] On the east side of the hill, there was the 'Dal Lake' measured round a little more than thirteen[3] miles. Akbar had given an order to build a very strong fort of stone and lime, which had been completed during the reign of Jahangir and the little hill was brought into the midst of the fortifications and the wall of the fort was built round it. The lake was closed to the Fort, and the palace overlooked the water. In the palace there was a little garden, with a small building, in which Akbar used to sit. Jahangir saw it in very much out of order and ruinous. As veritable quibla and visible 'Deity' used to sit, and this was also a place of prostration for Jahangir, he directed Mutamad Khan to put the little garden in order and repair the building by every efforts. A lofty terrace of '32 yard square', in three divisions was put up and after repair of the building, it was adorned with pictures by masterhands and it was made the envy of picture gallery of China and the garden was named 'Nur-afza' (Light increasing) by Jahangir.[4] Dutch traveller Francisco Pelsaert, writes that "The city of Kashmir (viz., Srinagar) itself is planted with very pleasant fruit bearing

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 150.
2. Lawerence, p. 298, says "The wicked Hill'.
3. Ibid, p.20, says that Dal Lake was 3-87 miles long and 2.58 miles broad.
4. Tuzuk (R.and B.), II, pp. 150-51.

and other trees, while two great rivers flow past it. The larger of these comes from Wirnagie, Achaiuwel and Matiaro, the other rises from the ground like a well or spring, three kos from the city, having its source at Salura (Solur or Salura village; at one time was the Anchar Lake - 1 1/2 miles from the large spring of Tulmul Tiratha.[1] Further we learn from Pelsaert that on the east side of the city lay "a great stronghold" whose walls were grey stone, 9 or 10 feet thick. Near it situated a rocky hill, which had a place on its summit. In the centre of this fort stood the palace of the Emperor, which was "noteworthy rather for its elevation and extent than its magnificence."[2]

On the basis of above facts we reach to the point that though the people of this region were poor, but it was a pleasant place due to its natural sight. As its atmosphere was cold and many people in summer came to reside there. Jahangir was essentially a lover of nature and Kashmir, therefore appealed to him particularly. He paid eight visits to Kashmir two of which were in the company of his father and six during his own reign viz., 14th, 16th, 18th, 19th, 20th and 21st year. The reason of the King's special preference for this country was that when the heat in India increased, his body burnt like a furnace, owing to his, consumption of excessively strong drink and opium, excesses which were still greater in his youth.[3] He usually leaved the city of

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1. Glawin - Reign of Jahangir, p. 92.
2. Pelsaert Francisco, pp. 30-31.
3. It seems his incapacity to bear the hot in summer.

Lahore in March or April and reached Kashmir in May. The journey was very difficult and dangerous, besides being expensive, for pack animals could not cross the mountains, and practically everything must be carried on men's body.[1]

Plague in Kashmir

In 1617 A.D. the epidemic of plague infested the country so virulently that the dead were thrown into the river without even the last rites being performed. Jahangir himself describe it: "On this day (Wednesday, 17th Isfandarmaz, 12th year of his reign 1617) a report of the chronicler of events arrived, that the plague had taken firm hold of the country and that many had died. The symptoms were that the first day there was headache and fever and much bleeding at the nose. On the second day the patient died. In the house where one person died all the immates were carried off. Whoever went near the sick person or a dead body was thrown on the grass. It died, and some dogs that had eaten its flesh also died. Things had come to such a pass that from fear of death fathers would not approach to their children, and children would not go near their fathers. A strange thing was that, in the ward in which the disease began, a fire broke out, and nearly 3,000 houses were burnt, During the height of the plague, one morning when the people of the city and environs got up, they saw circles on their doors. There were three large circles, and on the face of these (i.e. inside them), there were to circles...

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1. The Reign of Jahangir, Gladwin Francis, p. 92.

These figures were found on all the houses and even on the mosques. From the day when the fire took place and these circles appeared, they say there were a diminution of the plague."[1]

Marriage of the Muslims

According to Islamic law, the groom party had to send money or anything as sachaq for the bride party and after that both the parties fixed the day of marriage and then marriage was held. In connection of his own marriage with the daughter of Jagat Singh son of Raja Mansingh of Amber, Jahangir writes: "As I had demanded the daughter of Jagat Mansingh eldest son of Raja Mansingh, I on the 16th sent 80,000 rupees for the sachaq (a marriage present) to the house of the aforesaid Raja in order to dignify him.... On the 4th Rabiu-l-awwal the daughter of Jagat Singh entered the harem, and the marriage ceremony was performed.[2] Terry writes about the Muslim marriages that the bridegroom "be he rich or poor" went on horseback. He accompanied by friends and relations, with many lights, wind instruments and drums before him. The bride followed him in covered coach accompanied by her women friends. The procession passed. "The most imminent places of the city or the town," and then returned "to the place of the married couples abode." Here they had some entertainment and disappeared.[3] Marriage ceremony was solemnised with great pomp. After the ceremony in the evening their jolity began.[4]

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 442-43.
2. Ibid, I, pp. 144-45; see also the marriages of Shahriyar, Khusram and Parvez in the chapter V.
3. Terry, p. 285.
4. Ibid.

Festivals

All the festivals of the Hindus, and Muslims were celebrated with joy and Imperial splendour.

Muslim Festival

Id was celebrated every year in Imperial splendour. Referring first Ramzan (Id) after his accession Jahangir writes, "I came down to the Idgah from my auspicious throne. There was a great crowd, and having performed the dues of thanks giving and praise, I returned to the palace."[1] Thus, we see that the festival was celebrated and enjoyed by both, the Emperor and the subject. According to the custom, the Emperor came to the Idgah and gave thanks to his subjects and after that the beggars indigents, and dervishes were given money as charity by the Emperor and the nobles.[2]

Shab-i-Barat

Referring the festival of Shab-i-barat, Jahangir says that he held a meeting in one of the houses of the palace of Nur Jahan Begum, which was situated in the midst of large tanks, and summoned the Amirs and courtiers to the feast, which had been prepared by the Begum. The people were given cups of wine and all kinds of intoxicating drugs according to their desire by the Emperor's order. Jahangir ordered that "whoever drank a cup should sit according to his mansab and condition. All sorts of roast meats, and fruits

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, pp. 44-45.
2. Ibid, p. 45.

by way of relish, were ordered to be placed before everyone." In the beginning of the evening lanterus and lamps were lighted all round the buildings and tanks, which cast their reflection on the water and "it appeared as if the whole surface of the tank was a plain fire. A grand entertainment took place, and the drinkers of cups took more cups than they could carry."[1] Further Jahangir says that after three hours of night had passed, the men were dismissed and the ladies were summoned and the Emperor enjoyed with them till the mid night.[2] Thus, we see that 'Shab-i-barat' was a favourite festival of the Muslims' which was enjoyed by the Imperial members also.

Qurban

Qurban was celebrated in the Imperial splendour. Referring a festival of Quran, Jahangir writes, "This day corresponding to the festival of Quran (19th December, 1616), I ordered them to observe the ordinances of that day."[3] The above account of Jahangir confirms that Quran was also a favourite festival like Shab-i-barat and it was celebrated by the people of Islam.

The Festivals of the Hindus

The festival of the Hindus were also celebrated with Imperial splendour, to which the emperor enjoyed.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 385.
2. Ibid, p. 386.
3. Ibid, p. 344.

Dasahara

Referring the festival of Dasahara, Jahangir writes that it was the Rama's victory over the Demon King Ravan. On these occasions, the Imperial horses and elephants were arrayed in decorated panoply and paraded for inspection, according to the custom of the Hindus. The feast was also arranged on this occasion.[1] Referring a festival of Dasahara, Jahangir writes, "On Mondey, the 13th, the feast of the Dasahara took place. According to the annual custom, they decorated the horses in the special stables, and those that had been entrusted to Amirs; and brought them out."[2] Thus, we see that Dasahara, being the festival of the Hindus, was enjoyed by the Emperor and also by the Muslims.

Rakhi

About the festival of Rakhi, Jahangir says that this festival was popular in the time of Akbar and Jahangir. In the time of Akbar, the Hindu Amirs and other in imitation of them performed the ceremony of Rakhi in adorning him, making string of rubies and royal pearls and flower jewelled with gems of great value, and custom was carried out only for some years. Because the Hindu Amirs had carried out the extravagance to excess, what was disliked by Akbar and he stopped this practice. After that, only the Brahmins by way of augaries used to tie those strings and silk according to the custom. But Jahangir, again in the 8th year of his reign carried

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.),I, p. 252, II, pp. 100-176.
2. Ibid, II, p. 176.

out the "laurdable religions practice" and ordered the Hindu Amirs and the heads of the caste to fasten rakhis on his arms in the same ritis, as it was performed in the time of Akbar. But the other castes "by way of imitation did not give up this bigolry." Next year Jahangir followed Akbar and ordered that "Brahmins should bind strings and silk after the ancient manner."[1] Thus, we see that the festival of Rakhi was celebrated under the Imperial patronage.

Diwali

Referring a festival of Diwali Jahangir says "On the 8th of the month the festival of Diwali came on. I ordered the attendants of the palace to have gaing with each other for two or three nights in my presence; winnings and loosing place."[2] On other occasion Jahangir writes that it was favourite festival of the Baish[3]; which "occurs in the month of Mihr when the sun is in the constellation of Libra, the 28th day of the lunar month." On the night of that day lamps were lighted, and "friends and those who are dear assemble in each other houses and pass their time busily in gambling."[4]

Shivrat

The festival of Shivrat was celebrated by the Hindus, in which the emperor, also took part. At the night of Shivrat, the Emperor collected many jogis and duly observed this ceremony.

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 246.
2. Ibid, p. 244.
3. Even now popular among the Hindus.
4. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 244.

Referring an occasion of this festival Jahangir writes, "I met the learned of this body in social intercourse."[1]

Holi

Holi the last day of the year was celebrated by the Hindus. On the night of this day, the people lighted fire at the head of the streets and ways, and when it became day they scattered the ashes on each other's heads and faces, and made a wonderful noise and disturbance and after that they washed themselves, put on their apparel, and walked about in the gardens and on the plains.[2] Further, Jahangir says that according to the custom of the Hindus, as they "burn the dead, to light fires on this night, which is the last night of the year that has passed, signifies that they burn the last year, which has gone to the abode of the dead."[3] It is to be noted that the Hindus made a wonderful noise and disturbances, nevertheless this festival remained popular. But it is strange that how Jahangir considered it, as the festival of the sudras,[4] while it is celebrated by all the Hindus and it is popular even now.

Thus, we see that the people of all sects were permitted to celebrate their festivals. The Muslim and the Hindus, both

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1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 361.
2. Ibid, p. 246.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

celebrated their festivals according to their own custom under the Imperial patronage. Among above facts we see Jahangir, enjoying the festivals of the Muslims and the Hindus, which presents the fact that like his father Akbar, he was the emperor of his all subjects, either they were the Hindus or Musalmans or Christians. The Emperor celebrated the festivals according to its tradition on their fixed days, either he was in the palace or on the way.[1]

1. Tuzuk (R.and B.), I, p. 344. Once Quran fell while Jahangir was on his march, he celebrated that festival on his way.

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